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THE MAITRAKA AND THE SAINDHAVA TEMPLES OF GUJARAT

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TO THE MEMORY

OF THE

LATE DR. JAMES BURGESS

AND

HENRY COUSENS

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I

INTRODUCTORY

In the last quarter of the fifth century, the mighty Gupta empire of Magadha began to crack due to internal stresses and strains. The inroads of the Huṇas which assumed the dimensions of fatal invasions and the upsurge of the Vākāṭaka power in the upper Deccan, forced this great empire to contract and drove it to the brink of destruction.

From the turbulence and upheavals of this period there rose a principality at Valabhī that soon grew into a kingdom and at its height, an empire. Maitraka Bhaṭārka, a general of the Guptas, established his own rule at Valabhī on the southeastern sea-board of Saurāṣṭra in about A.D.470.[1] His son and second successor Droṇasiṁha was anointed and acknowledged as a *mahārājā* by the Gupta Emperor Buddhagupta or his successor Vainyagupta.[2] The nominal suzerainty of the Guptas over the Maitrakas continued up to about A.D.546. Dharasena, who was followed by Droṇasiṁha, so acknowledges. But his second successor Guhasena, to judge by his inscriptions, shook off the last vestiges of vassalage. From then on the Maitraka power rose till it reached its culmination in the first half of the seventh century. It stayed at its apogee for about a century, when the decline set in. Finally, in or about A.D.789, it collapsed due to the disastrous marine invasion of the Arabs from Sind.

The opulence of Valabhī was proverbial.[3] The Maitraka kings were brave but gentle. Their heroism was matched by their catholicity of outlook. Their munificence flowed, impartially to Brahmins and Buddhists alike. The Buddhist monasteries at Valabhī multiplied, and blossomed into great seats of learning. The University there was compared to the far famed University of Nālandā in Magadha. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang was attracted to it. The well-known Saṁskṛta poem *Rāvaṇavadha* of Bhaṭṭī was composed in Valabhī. The *Viśeṣāvaśyaka bhāṣya* and a number of other important works of Jinabhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa were completed in the latter half of the sixth century, probably in the Maitraka kingdom. In the subsequent century, Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara wrote the *curṇi* commentaries on a number of Jain *Āgama* texts, the one on *Nandīsūtra* being completed on or about A.D.677 in the time of King Śīlāditya III. And lastly, at the end of the Maitraka period, Jinasena wrote the *Harivaṁśa purāṇa* at Vardhamāna.

The political glory of the Maitrakas reached a peak along with its cultural achievements. The Maitraka King Dhruvasena II was the son-in-law of Emperor Harṣa of Kanauja. His suc-

[1] The single dated record of the presence of Gupta authority in Saurāṣṭra is the Junāgaḍh (i. e. Girinagara) rock inscription of the time of Skandagupta. It refers to the rebuilding of the dam of Sudarśana taṭāka and other activities by the Guptan provincial governor, Parṇadatta, and his son Cakrapālita, ruling from Girinagara.

[2] Bhaṭārka and his successor Dharasena were vassals and generals of the Guptas. For details see H.G. Shastri, *Maitrakakālina Gujarāt*, I–II (in Gujarāti), Ahmemabad. 1955.

[3] *Ibid.* for further details.

cessor Dharasena IV assumed the imperial titles including that of *cakravartī*. At its height the Maitraka empire also included a large portion of Western Mālava.

Peace and prosperity prevailed in Gujarat during the three centuries of the Maitraka rule. Under these favourable circumstances art and architecture must surely have flourished. The copper-plate inscriptions of the Maitraka kings refer to a number of religious edifices, Brahmanical and Buddhist, some of the latter known to have been built by the Maitraka rulers or the members of the royal family. Among the Brahmanical shrines, the Śiva temple at Vaṭapadra in Saurāṣṭra is known to have existed before A.D. 609. Similarly, the temple of Bhartīśvara appears to have been extant in A.D. 631. The temple of the goddess Koṭammahikā at Trisaṅgamaka was in worship in A.D. 639 and was, in fact, built during or prior to the times of Droṇasiṁha. The earliest copper-plate inscription (A.D. 502) of the latter prince refers to the temple of Pāṇḍuraryā at Hāthab in Saurāṣṭrā. A temple probably of the Sapta-mātṛkā existed by about A.D. 676 at Madasara-sthali in Saurāṣṭrā. A Sun Temple is inferred to have been extant at Vaṭapadra in A.D. 609, and another one at Bhadreṇiyaka in A.D. 611 in Saurāṣṭra.

Numerous Buddhist monuments, too, were built in the Maitraka kingdom. Some of these were located in Valabhī and its surroundings. The Bhaṭārka-vihāra was probably built by Senāpati Bhaṭārka, the progenitor of the Maitraka dynasty, at Valabhī. Princess Duddā, sister of King Dhruvasena I, founded a large monastery (called after her the Duddā-vihāra) at the beginning of the sixth century. Śīlāditya I had built the Śīlāditya-vihāra at Vaṃśakaṭa in Saurāṣṭra before A.D. 605.[4] The citizens of the kingdom also made their own contributions to the expansion of the Buddhist monastic settlements at Valabhī. For example, Lady Mimmā built the Ābhyantarikā-vihāra in the neighbourhood of the Bhaṭārka-vihāra. Its existence in A.D. 567 is known so it must have been constructed some time before that date. Kakka Māṅkila added the Kakka vihāra to the Duddā-vihāra maṇḍala sometime before A.D. 589. Another monastery in the same group, going by the name Gohaka-vihāra, must have been built before A.D. 629. A Yakṣaśūra-vihāra for nuns was built probably in the mid sixth century at Valabhī. A merchant named Ajita built the Ajita-vihāra some time prior to A.D. 549, and it was by its side that the last-noted vihāra probably stood. To the latter group was added a Pūrṇabhaṭṭā-vihāra some time before A.D. 638 by Lady Purṇabhaṭṭā. Skandabhaṭṭa II, grandson of Mahāsandhivigrahaka Skandabhaṭṭa I built a vihāra going by his name at Yodhāvaka.[5]

There were temples sacred to the Jinas also, as may be gleaned from the literary sources. The temple of Śāntinātha at Valabhī was in existence some time around A.D. 601.[6] Images of Candraprabha, Ādinātha, Pārsvanātha, and Mahāvīra were transferred from Valabhī to safer sanctuaries at the time of the destruction of the former city.[7] At Vaḍhavāṇ (Vardhamāna) and Dostaṭikā there existed the temples of Pārsvanātha and Śāntinātha and probably on the summit of Mt. Girnar, that of the Yakṣī Aṁbikā.[8]

None of these monuments is known to have survived. But extant buildings (especially

[4] The mid seventh century Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang speaks of a *vihara* built by *Sīlāditya* I near his seat at Valabhī. See S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London 1906, II, p. 267.

[5] Yodhāvaka is said to have been situated in Hastavapra Āhāraṇī (Hathab district); it may be represented by the present Goghā.

[6] According to a colophon to a ms. cited by Shastri, *op. cit*, p. 493.

[7] From the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinharṣa (late 13th to early 14th cents. A.D.).

[8] See B. J. Sandesara, "Two Digambara Jain works composed in Vadhan", *Jour. of the Saurāshtra Research Soc.*, I, no. 2.

Brahmanical ones) attributable stylistically to the period are available in good number. They are in the main dotted along the western sea-board of Saurāṣṭra between Dvārkā and Prabhāsa, with one solitary example at Kaḷasār and a few in the Barḍā territory (fig. 1).

In the second quarter of the eighth century, a new dynasty known now from its copper plate grants as Jayadratha vaṁśa or Saindhava vaṁśa, owing allegiance to the Maitrakas, rose in Western Saurāṣṭra with its capital at Ghumali (Bhūtāmbilikā or Bhūmilikā) in the Barḍā Hills. The first three kings Puṣyadeva or Puṣyeṇa, Kṛṣṇarāja I, and Agguka I flourished during the Maitraka period. The post-Maitraka Saindhavas appear to have been the vassals of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Bhillamāla (and afterwards of Kanauja). Compared to the Maitrakas, however, this dynasty, even at its height, held sway over a relatively small area, covered by the modern Jamnagar district and a part of Madhya-Saurāṣṭra district and Porbandar Taluka. In available inscriptions, the references to religious monuments are scanty. A Brahamanical monastery (*maṭhikā*) at Ghumli, and temples of Śiva, Sūrya and the Goddess near Survarṇamañjarī, are the only monuments noted. On the whole, the Saindhava rule does not seem to be very eventful. A probable attack of the Arabs repulsed by Agguka I, and the petty wars of his descendants with the Cāpā chieftains of Vaḍhavāṇ appear to be the only incidents of historical value known to us. The last date of the Saindhavas so far known is A.D. 915. The copper-plate inscription of Rāṇaka Bāṣkaladeva of Ghumli dated A.D. 987 is silent about the Saindhavas as well as his predecessors. Some time between A.D. 915 and 987, therefore, the Saindhava dynasty may be surmised to have come to an end. A fairly large number of temples belonging to the Saindhava period are now known in the territory once occupied by the Saindhavas. In style they represent the continuation of the developments seen during the last century of the Maitraka rule.

If the architectural style that flourished during the Saindhava period was derived from the preceding Maitraka traditions, the style prevalent during the Maitraka epoch, too, had its roots in the further past. The Maitrakas could hardly have introduced any new style, nor were they the founders of Valabhī. That city, peopled by the affluent classes, had been a great centre of Jainism and Buddhism even in the previous epoch. Nāgārjuna codified the Jain *Āgama* texts at Valabhī in the fourth century. Later, in or about A.D. 453 or 466, Devarddhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa compared its readings with the Mathurā version of Skandilācārya. In the fourth century, the illustrious Buddhist scholars Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati and Guṇamati resided near Valabhī in the vihāra built by Arhata Acala. Sthiramati, too, built a vihāra called Śri Bappapādīya vihāra in Valabhī proper, probably in memory of his illustrious *guru* Āsaṅga. Another pupil of Āsaṅga, Ācārya Bhadanta Buddhadāsa built a vihāra in this city. At about the same time, Mallavādi Sūri of Valabhī wrote his important work on Jain logic, the *Nayacakra*. Aside from all these citations, the mention of Valabhī in Pāṇinī's *Gaṇapāṭha* carries the antiquity of the city as far back as pre-Mauryan days.

Besides Valabhī, the Saurāṣṭra region as a whole was extensively inhabited prior to the advent of the Maitrakas. The long régimes of the Kṣatrapas of Śaka lineage[9] (*ca.* A.D. 100–400) and following them of the Guptas, witnessed notable architectural activities especially in the Saurāṣṭra region. Apart from the restoration of the Sudarśana lake at Girinagara by Rudradāman in A.D. 151–52, note should also be taken of the Rudrasena-vihāra near Girinagara and a

[9] The inscribed casket excavated from within the core of the brick *stūpa* at Devnimori makes mention of a lineage of Kathika kings; whether this dynasty is in any way connected with the Śaka one is an issue still undecided.

Mahāstūpa built at Śāmaḷāji in A.D.375 in the time of Rudrasena I. In the Gupta period the Junāgaḍh inscription (A.D.457–58) of the time of Skandagupta refers to the building of Viṣṇu temples at or in the vicinity of Girinagara. The Maitrakas were thus the direct heirs to the architectural traditions that prevailed before them. In order to comprehend the character of the monuments erected during their times a brief prelude discussing the salient features of the preceding styles will serve as a useful background.

II

ARCHITECTURAL BACKGROUND

The earliest monuments known in Gujarat are rock-cut caves, most of which were probably the result of Buddhist settlements in the province. Almost all are confined to Saurāṣṭra territory.[10] The caves at Taḷājā,[11] at Saṇā in the Gir Hills,[12] at Junāgaḍh,[13] at Prabhās Paṭān,[14] at Dhānk,[15] at Siddhasar,[16] at Raṇapar in the Barda Hills,[17] and at Khambhaliḍā[18] give eloquent testimony to the wide spread of such excavation in Saurāṣṭra. Except for the Uparkoṭ caves in Junāgadh all are unpretentious in comparison to the Āndhra-Kṣatrapa period caves in the Deccan. Since they are little decorated it is difficult to determine their chronology, either relative or absolute.

The façade of the Ebhal Maṇḍapa cave at Taḷājā is enriched by a railing pattern and a peculiar form of *candraśālā* false dormer, both noticeably wooden in appearance. The pillars that supported the frieze have disappeared except for a single truncated lower portion and the tops of one or two others, still attached to the ceiling. These indicate that the cave originally had plain, octagonal columns like those in the *caitya* halls at Bhājā, Koṇḍaṇe, Ajaṇṭa no. X, and in the Kārlā apse; and so may be as early as the beginning of the Christian era. The *caitya* caves at Sāṇā and Rāṇpar possess identical rock-cut *stūpas* which resemble in general those at Bhājā and the other early Deccan caves. In the Bhīma cauri vihāra at Sāṇā[19] and in one of the caves in the Bāwā Pyārā group at Junāgaḍh,[20] one finds octagonal pillars with round *ghaṭas*, pot shapes, above and below, combined with *vedī*, plinth, and *phalaka*, abacus, at bottom and top respectively: a combination reminiscent of the caves at Nāsik and Junnar, or even Bedsā and Kārlā, as observed long since by Burgess.

The most important characteristics of this early regional architecture are its stark simplicity, without any artistic pretensions, and its affiliations in certain details with early Deccani cave designs. To a considerable extent these prefigure the subsequent development of the local styles.

[10] Discussed in detail by J. Burgess, "Antiquities of Kāthiāwāḍ and Kacch", *Archeol. Survey of Western India* (i.e. *ASWI*), London 1876, II.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[14] Not yet published.
[15] H. D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarāt (including Kathiawar)*, Bombay 1941, pl. XIV, fig. 24.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Discovered by the late Shri Harilal Mankad, and published as a short note in the *Gazette* of the former Jamnagar State.
[18] *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, New Delhi, 1958–59, p. 70, pl. LXXIIA.
[19] Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX.
[20] *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.

In the fourth century A.D. a new trend appears, under an outside influence originating in Gandhāra. This is observable in the fine two-storeyed cave at Uparkoṭ in Junāgaḍh, which may have been either a Buddhist monastery or the summer resort of a governor of Girinagara.[21] There in the upper chamber one finds chevroned pillars somewhat like those in the early sixth century Bāgh caves, though earlier (as all the evidence agrees).[22] The six magnificent pillars of the lower storey are particularly interesting, beautiful both in proportions and in decoration.[23] The *vāhana* base shows acanthus leaves upheld by dwarfs. This is surmounted by a *ghaṭa* pot, decorated with *maṇibandha* (jewelled girdle) and *muktādāma* (pearl festoon) motifs. The shaft has thinly marked facets. The crowning design begins in four cases with a beaded band, and a *padma* lotus, or cyma, with rams' heads in two others. This is topped by a foliated capital, with figural carvings of *mithuna* couples, *apsarases*, etc. Above is an *uttaroṣṭha* abacus with lion figures. The double *kapota*, roll cornice, over the shallow niches along the walls shows discrete *candraśālā* dormers,[24] in each of which is usually found a couple visible above a miniature railing (plate 1).

The acanthus pattern on the base is parallelled on a rail pillar from the late phase at Amarāvati.[25] The figural work (plate 3) falls between the late Kuṣāṇa and late Amarāvati styles, though it cannot match either in quality. The lion figures (which at the corners are doubled with a common head) are reminiscent of the convention observed with some variations in early Gupta temples like those at Sāñcī, Tigowa, etc.

The Uparkoṭ cave has yielded Red Polished ware, clay bullae, and coins including one of the Kṣatrapa King Bartṛdāmana[26] and another possibly ascribable to Rudrasena II.[27] This associated evidence helps to buttress the intermediate date here proposed for the Uparkoṭ cave. Its pillar type and decoration are found in no later examples; on the other hand the *kapota* frieze and the shape of the *candrāśāla* dormer persisted in post-Guptan temples, as will be demonstrated below.

The other important cave is the *caitya* in the group at Khambhāliḍā. There the doorway is flanked by large figural compositions. On the left a Padmapāṇi (?) stands under an *aśoka*-like tree, with a female companion and five attendants. A *yakṣa*-like dwarf holding a basket is seen to the left.

On the right side a similar group of figures is seen where Vajrapāṇi (?) stands with attendants under an Aśoka-like tree. A dwarf yakṣa is also found here. The figures look like enlarged versions of the kind seen in Uparkoṭ. The broad belts worn by some of the female figures also are reminiscent of Uparkoṭ and examples from other places in India of the late Kusāṇa and Kṣatrapa periods. The attenuation of some of the female figures recalls later Āndhra mannerisms. The friezes above the yakṣas, however, are important in connection with the discussions in this paper. These show, like the frieze in the western wall of the upper storey of the Uparkoṭ cave (plate 4) miniature shrines, a reference to which will be made in the last section. The cave seems

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–43.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV; also R.S. Wauchope, *Buddhist Cave Temples of India*, Calcutta 1933, pl. XVI.
[24] *Ibid.*, pl. XXI.
[25] D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvati in the British Museum*, London 1954, pl. XXIII.
[26] See K.V. Soundara Rajan, "Fresh Light on the Culture of Ancient Gujarāt", *Jour. of the Gujarāt Research Soc.*, Bombay, XXII, no. 4/88, p. 346.
[27] *Indian Archaeology*, p. 70.

to be a close runner-up to Uparkoṭ in time, though coarser in workmanship. It has suffered considerable erosion. The monuments intervening between these two caves and the earliest surviving structural monuments are so far not discovered. But the links between the two, as will be seen, are surely present. The traits seen in the former examples, determined some of the features of the temples of the Maitraka period.

III

THE DISCOVERIES

It is to the pioneer survey work done by James Burgess that we owe our first knowledge of some of the oldest monuments in Gujarat confined for the most part to the Saurāṣṭra area. Burgess gave a succinct account of the temples at Gop, Sonkaṁsārī (Ghumali), Pāchtar,[28] and Prācī.[29] In 1912, G.V. Acharya came across the old temple at Kaḷsār during his epigraphic survey of the territory.[30] Acharya's discovery somehow remained unheeded: it was Shri Ravishankar Raval who rediscovered it in 1948 and published its detailed account with plan and illustrations.[31] The late Shri D. B. Diskalkar, who succeeded Acharya as Curator of the Watson Museum, in Rajkot, found a group of old temples at Vasai near Dvārkā.[32] Had Cousens known about the discoveries made by Acharya and Diskalkar, he might have included the details of these in his well known report on the monuments of Saurāṣṭra. In this valuable report Cousens gave very informative details on such other temples as those at Kadvār, Bileśvara, Viśāvāḍā, Sūtrāpāḍā, Kinderkheḍā, Pātā, and Miyāṇī.[33] A few years after Cousens, Dr. Hiranand Shashtri, Director of the Archaeological Department of the former Baroda State, discovered important temples of this class in Okhāmaṇḍala area of Saurāṣṭra, which, unfortunately, did not receive the attention they deserved.[34] Two temples at Dhrāsaṇavel, and two near old Dhrevaḍ may be mentioned in particular. In 1940, Prof. M. J. Pathakaji of Bauddin College, Junāgaḍh and H. P. Shashtri of Prabhās Pāṭaṇ brought to light the interesting Gāyatrī temple at Pasnāvaḍā.[35] This temple likewise seems to have remained unnoticed thereafter.

The credit of discovering by far the largest number of early temples, however, goes to the Archaeological Research Society, Porbandar, formally instituted in 1953 under the presidentship of Shri M. P. Vora.[36] Among the notable discoveries made by this organization may be mentioned the temple groups at Khimeśvara, Śrinagara, Nandeśvara, Baḷej, Bhāṇasarā, Oḍadar, and isolated shrines near Bokhirā, Chāyā, Visāvāḍā, Kuchaḍī, Rāṇāvāv, Ṭukaḍā, Akhodar, Kālāvaḍ,

[28] See n. 10.

[29] See "Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarāt," *ASWI*, IX, London, 1876; and *Archaeol. Survey of India, New Imperial Series (ASI, NIS)*, XXXII, 1903.

[30] See Acharya, *Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Aniquities*, 1912–13.

[31] Raval, *Ann. Rep. of the Gujarat Research Soc.*, XI, 2.

[32] Diskalkar, *Ann. Rep. Watson Mus.*, 1921–22.

[33] H. Cousens, "Somanātha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawad", *ASI, IS*, XLV 1931, pp. 38ff.

[34] Sh[illegible]ri, *Archaeol. of Baroda*, 1936–37.

[35] Pathakaji, *Jour. of the Archaeol. Research Soc.*, Junāgadh, II, no. 1, March 1940.

[36] The second author of the paper has been a member of A.R.S.P. since its inception, and has participated in its field explorations. Al[illegible]ough its discoveries are still unpublished, they have been communicated from time to time by its president to the State Department of Archaeology.

Mehvāsā, and finally at Porbandar proper.[37] In 1953, H.U. Trivedi (now Doctor) of Baroda University discovered two temples at Boricā near Porbandar.

Meanwhile the State Department of Archaeology was also lending its useful share in adding to the bulk of the new discoveries. In 1953, the late Shri P.P. Pandya, then Superintendent of the Department, came across the early temples at Piṇḍārā and Khimarāṇā. In 1955, the second author of this monograph discovered early temples at Junāgaḍh and Gosā, and again in 1956 (with Shri H.P. Shashtri) at Prabhās Pāṭaṇ, Savnī, and Nāvadrā. In 1957–58, Shri A.V. Pandya of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Vidyapeeth, Anand, recognized the early features of the Suvarṇatīrtha temple near Dvārkā.[38] In June 1960, the second author of this paper and Sarva-Shri H.P. Shastri and P.N. Bhatt located an early Sun temple at Pasnāvaḍā.[39] During the same survey work, the second author and Shri P.N. Bhatt discovered another Sun temple of the same age and related style, now at Jhamarā. In June 1961, the authors of this brochure with Shri H.P. Shastri recognized the pre-Solaṅkī features of the Nāga temple at Pasnāvaḍā and Navadurgā temple standing beside the Sun temple at Sūtrāpāḍā.[40] The present authors during further work discovered two temples, one at Degām near Porbandar and another at Sarmā in Gheḍ area of Soraṭh (Junagadh District).

The monuments described by Burgess and Cousens were visited by H.D. Sankalia in 1936 in connection with his important thesis on the archaeology of Gujarat territory. The work done by the aforementioned two pioneer surveyors was subjected to close analysis by this authority who not only systematized it but also used it as the basis for a brilliant hypothesis wherein he pointed out the stages of development in the style that led ultimately to the formation of the Nāgara *śikhara*.[41] In a recent contribution, S.K. Saraswati has put forward a few objections to Sankalia's views and postulated a new theory of the co-existence of the Nāgara and the Gop type temples on the analogy of the phenomenon that occurred in the Chālukyan country in the South.[42] In 1956, Shri Krishna Deva, then Superintendent, Temple Survey Project-North India, surveyed some of the more important monuments in detail and in the light of the texts on Vāstu. In 1960, he once again suveyed the temples of this territory with special attention to the newly discovered ones. The second author had the opportunity to accompany Shri Krishna Deva during the latter survey work and was thus acquainted with the views and findings of this eminent authority. Shri K.V. Soundara Rajan, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, had also examined some of these temples and contributed a very valuable paper, wherein he proposed the possibility of Chālukyan influence on these early temples of Saurāṣṭra.[43] The authors of this monograph undertook extensive and prolonged survey work on all the known early temples of Saurāṣṭra between June 1960 and March 1963.

It is now found possible to examine the stands taken by various scholars on the subject and to reinterpret the older data and revise the conclusions through the aid of the new data on hand.

[37] Cousens knew of the existence of the temples at Khimeśvara, Srīnagara, and Rāṇāvāv, but apparently did not visit them.

[38] Information from Shri A.V. Pandya in a communication to the first author.

[39] *Indian Archaeology*, 1959–60.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Sankalia, *Archaeol. of Gujarāt*, pp. 59–60.

[42] See R.C. Majumdar, ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, London 1951–65, vol. V, "The Struggle for Empire", pp. 585 ff.

[43] Soundara Rajan, "Architectural Affinities of Early Saurashtra Temples", *The Indian Historical Quart.*, Calcutta, XXXVII, no. 1, March 1961, pp. 1–7.

In fact, the new material substantially helps in giving a comprehensive and almost complete picture of the architectural style that prevailed during the Maitraka and Saindhava periods in Saurāṣṭra territory. By now about a hundred temples are known in this style.

While this monograph was being completed Shri Kantilal Sompura, a pupil of Dr. H. G. Shashtri of Ahmedabad, visited some of the temples in connection with his Ph. D. dissertation. His findings, too, are likely to prove beneficial to students of the ancient architecture of Gujarat.

IV

GROUND PLANS

Both the Maitraka and the Saindhava temples possess regional features in their ground plans and elevations. In the earlier group simple squares and rectangles form the basic pattern of the *talacchanda*, ground plan. The closed hall is often undifferentiated from the main shrine, and forms a common rectangle with it. Ambulatories also are fairly common. In the Saindhava period the ground plans are often recessed. Throughout the two periods certain fixed patterns in planning are observable, as classified below (in the order simple to complex).

I. Unicellular:

Small shrines having only a cella and no porch. Examples are:

The old temple on the hillside at Miyāṇī;
Bhāṇasarā temples nos. 3 and 4 (fig. 11a);
Nandeśvara temple no. 1;
The solitary shrine east of Oḍadar.

II. Bicellular:

Here the small closed hall is articulated with the sanctum. Examples are:

Sonkaimsārī temple no. 5 (square cella, oblong closed hall, enclosed in one rectangle; fig. 12a);
Kaḷsār (slightly oblong cella, square closed hall; fig. 12b);
Khimeśvara temple no. 5 (square cella and closed hall, the latter larger; fig. 12c);
Savanī old temple (square cella, slightly larger oblong closed hall with pilasters; fig. 11b).

III. (A). Shrines with open porches:

Examples are:
Khimeśvara temple no. 7 (square cella; porch with dwarf pillars on a plain dado, plus two free-standing tall pillars; fig. 13a);
Cāmuṇḍa mātā temple at Kinderkheda (square cella; porch with dwarf pillars and pilasters; fig. 13b).

III. (B). Rectangular shrines without porches, but with freestanding pillars:

Examples are two Saptamātṛkā temples, at Boricā and at Pātā (figs. 13c, d).

III. (C). Shrines with closed hall and porch:

Single example the Celeśvara temple near Mehvāsā (fig. 11c).

IV. Shrines with pilastered closed hall and ambulatory:

A (1): Square inner cella; oblong shrine with ambulatory; oblong closed hall, larger. Examples are:

Bhāṇasarā no. 5 (fig. 14a);
Balej, Piṭhaḍ mātā temple (fig. 14c); added feature is a *mukhamaṇḍapa* porch.

A (2): Similar, but with less emphasis on closed hall. Examples are:
Khimeśvara temple no. 2 (14b), and closely similar Bileśvara (fig. 15);
Gop temple (fig. 16), with more complex proliferations.

V. Shrines without ambulatory, having a pilastered closed hall with two free-standing interior columns:

A (1): Both cella and closed hall square, the latter the larger. Examples are:
Visāvāḍā, Śiva temple (fig. 17a);
Nāga temple near Pasnāvaḍā (fig. 17b);
Pasnāvaḍā, Sun temple (fig. 17c).

A (2): Example:

Jhamarā, Sun temple. An original ambulatory now in ruins (fig. 17d); the eastern façade provided with a *vedikā* balustrade and a *kakṣāsana* (slanted back of the seats).

VI. Square shrines with larger, square closed hall containing four free-standing interior pillars, without pilasters:

Examples are:

Balej, Koṭhā temple (fig. 18a);
Kuchaḍi, Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple (fig. 18b);
Degām, Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple (fig. 19a);
Khimeṣvara temple no. 6 (fig. 19b).

VII. Square shrines with a larger, square closed hall with pilasters, four free-standing pillars, and dwarf pillars with *vedikā* and *kakṣāsana*:

Single example as described the Sun temple at Pātā (fig. 20). Variants:

Dhrāsaṇvel, Kālikā mātā temple: adds an ambulatory (fig. 21);
Kadvār temple: oblong shrine and recessed porch (fig. 22).

VIII. Shrines with ambulatory and a closed hall on a rectangular plan; four free-standing pillars, no pilasters:

Examples are the Sun temples at Sūtrāpāḍā and Akhodar (figs. 23a, b).

IX. Shrines with ambulatory, the closed hall having pilastered walls and (usually) a *mukha-maṇḍapa:*

Examples are:

Suvarṇatīrtha temple near Dvārkā (fig. 24b), with three entrances to the porch.
Añjanī mātā temple near Chāyā (fig. 24a), lacking a porch. Sonkaṁsārī temple no. 1 has applied pilasters also on all sides of the cella proper and along the ambulatory wall. The nature of the porch not clear.
The porch is distylar in antis at Khimeṣvara temple no. 1 and the Vindhyavāsinī temple at Śrīnagara (figs. 26a, b).
The Sun temple at Kinderkheḍā lacks pilasters, while the porch has dwarf pillars on *vedikā* and *kakṣāsana* members (fig. 27a). The Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple near Bokhirā has two free-standing pillars within the porch (fig. 28b).

X. Shrines with a rectangular closed hall lacking interior pillars.

Single example the Gāyatrī temple at Pasnāvaḍā. The closed hall has pilasters (fig. 28).

XI. Square shrines having a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, hall for theatrical performances, without free-standing pillars:

Examples are:

Navadurgā temple at Sūtrapāḍā;
Kālikā mātā temple at Nāvadrā (neither illustrated).

XII. Shrines with recessed walls:

These are Nāgara in layout and belong to the Saindhava period except for the late Maitraka Koṭeśvara temple (fig. 29a).

Examples are:

Two ruined buildings in the Pātā group (not illustrated) are square, lacking *prāggrīva* pillared portico.
Nandeṣvara temple no. 3 is oblong, lacking a *prāggrīva* (fig. 29b).
The *prāggrīva* feature on a square shrine is represented by Oḍadar temple no. 5 and Nandeśvara temples nos. 2, 4, and 5 (not illustrated).
The ruined temple no. 3 in the Sonkaṁsārī group is square with a closed hall, ruined (fig. 29c). A triple shrine has recently been discovered at Sarmā (fig. 31a).
Quintuple shrines, *pañcāyatana*, are seen in the groups near Pāchtar (fig. 31b) and Miyāṇī.
Sevenfold shrines, *saptāyatana*, are represented by one example, Magḍeruṁ near Dhrāsaṇvel (fig. 32).
The Randal Ḍeruṁ at Visāvāḍā (fig. 30) has an ambulatory and closed hall on a rectangular plan.
A type with inner ambulatory, *sāndhāra*, closed hall, and *mukhamaṇḍapa* porch, is seen in the Bhīmadevaḷa temple near Prācī and Sonkaṁsārī no. 2 (figs. 33, 34).
The former's original porch has disappeared.

Study of these ground plans reveals the fundamental simplicity of the Saurāṣṭra temples and their combination of individuality and interrelationship. The temples with square configurations like those at Gop, Bileśvara, and Khimeśvara no. 2 may have been ultimately inspired by the terraced *stūpas* of earlier, Buddhist days, with a cella replacing the central *stūpa* body. The *stūpas* at Śāmaḷājī[44] or Mirpur Khas suggest this hypothetical ancestry. On the other hand, oblong plans with an ambulatory around the cella remind one, of course very distantly, of Greco-Roman practise. This slight resemblance may be purely accidental, or may be due to the very slow passage of the theme through several regional intermediaries, including Gandhāra.

The typical Nāgara massing of elements does not appear before the Saindhava period, as we have seen, although an experiment pointing in that direction may be discerned in the late Maitraka Koṭeśvara temple near Kālāvaḍ (fig. 29a).

ELEVATION OF THE MAIN FLOOR

The elevations of the temples also offer interesting and individual features. The basement or socle receives the first attention. Study of this portion reveals two distinct groups, with a few transitional examples between. The earlier is almost invariably associated with the Maitraka period, and the later with the Saindhava period only. It may be remarked here that the Nāgara terminology is less adequate in describing the earlier group than the Dravidian, being applicable rather from Saindhava on.

The mouldings of the *adhiṣṭhāna* base, wherever observable in the earlier temples, follow this ascending sequence:

Upāna plinth, usually varying in height from five inches to a foot or more;
alaṅkāra jagatī, a similar but narrower moulding;
padma, an inverted cyma recta;
kṣepaṇa, a deep-set fillet, in preparation for a *kumuda* torus;
kṣepaṇa again, to emphasize the cornice above it, either in an inverted cyma recta form (*kapotapāli* or *śūrpa*) or like a penthouse roof (*kṣoṇi*);[45]
vājana band, surmounted by a *pāda* dado, occasionally punctuated by niches,[46] or by a plain *kandhara*;
ambuja or *ūrdhva padma*, a cyma recta, or sometimes an *uttira*, corresponding band;
valabhī course with dentils (*lupās*, i. e. simulated rafter ends); infrequently replaced by another *ambuja* enriched by lotus flowers in semicircles,[47] or more simply by a dogtooth or lotus-petal motif;[48]
kapota roll cornice, in rare cases elaborated by the simulated dormer motif, *candraśālā*;[49]
kṣepaṇa fillet again, surmounted by a plain *paṭṭikā* band (see figs. 2, 4).

[44] *Indian Archaeology*, 1959–60 and 1960–61; also Chowdhary in *Jour. of the Oriental Inst., Baroda*, IX, no. 4.
[45] For some reason the roll cornice is lacking in this position.
[46] E.g.: old temple at Gop (pl. 7; fig. 3), and Gāyatrī temple at Pasnāvaḍā (pl. 32).
[47] Gāyatrī temple (fig. 4f.).
[48] Vindhyavāsinī temple at Śrīnagara, and Sonkaṁsārī temple no. 1 (fig. 5a).
[49] Sonkaṁsārī temple no. 1 (fig. 5a). The present authors are deeply indebted to Shri Krishna Deva and to Shri K. R. Srinivasan for the elucidation of the Dravidian terms used in this monograph. In spite of the use of such terms, however, it does not follow that the forms of the mouldings agree with the South Indian ones in detail.

In late Maitraka temples and in those of the Saindhava period, the latter mostly Nāgara in design, the basement, *pīṭha*, usually consists of:

bhiṭṭa plinth, from three inches to more than a foot high;
jāḍyakumbha, inverted cyma recta;
antarapatra, a deep-set fillet, surmounted by a
kapotikā, minor inverted cyma recta.

These forms are still flexible, and denote a transition from the earlier types. In larger buildings the *pīṭha* is replaced by a *vedibandha* series comprising:

khuraka half torus;
kalaśa torus;
antarapatra fillet, decorated with *ratna* lozenges or *kuñjarākṣa* (a motif consisting of deep-set square recesses and offsets);
kapotāli cyma cornice, decorated with *ṭhārikās* (*caitya* arches).

Other Nāgara style mouldings, such as *rājasenaka* (wide fillet), *vedikā* (balustrade), and *kakṣāsana* (simulated sloping seat-back) in the context of the *maṇḍapa*, are known in a few early axamples as well as in late ones.[50]

The walls of the early Maitraka sanctum are almost invariably featureless. The top of the wall is relieved by such members as *valabhī* and minor *kapota*.[51] In rare cases a *vājana* is inserted between.[52] In a relatively late group of Maitraka monuments the sequence of mouldings at this point comprises *uttara*, *ūrdhvapadma*, and the minor *kapota*.[53]

The walls of the *sāndhāra prāsādas* and of the closed halls of the *nirandhāra prāsādas* are at times relieved by ventilator *vātāyanas*, often filled with *jālaka* or *candrāvalokana* grilles.[54]

The interiors of the temples are with few exceptions provided with pillars and pilasters: almost invariably of the square Rucaka order and unadorned.[55] Two composite types are also known. In one, the lower portion of the shaft is square and the upper octagonal, Vajraka. The other variety, which occurs only as an engaged pillar on the exterior of the shrine wall at three places,[56] is more complex; and is both rare and unknown outside of Saurāṣṭra temples.[57] The Bhadraka variety of pillar, square with recesses, is encountered in a few Saindhava buildings only.[58]

[50] A *vedikā* is present in the Varāha temple at Kadvār and in the Saptamātṛkā shrine at Boricā. The same member plus a *kakṣāna* is seen at Pātā. At Jhamra and Bokhirā one finds a plain *vedikā* plus *kakṣāsana*.

[51] Old temples at Oḍadar and Visāvāḍā (pl. 10); temple on the hillside at Miyāṇī; sun temples at Śrīnagara and at Jhamarā (pl. 19); Bhaṇasara temple no. 5 (pl. 26), and several others. The walls of the closed hall of the Kālikā mātā temple at old Dhrevaḍ, and those of the ambulatory of the Survarnatīrtha temple near Dvārkā, also show the feature (pls. 34, 22).

[52] Rājal Vejal temple, old Dhrevaḍ (pl. 11).

[53] Sonkaṁsāri temples nos. 8, 1; Sun temple at Pasnāvaḍā; and sanctum of Kālikā mātā temple at old Dhrevaḍ (pls. 14, 32, 21, 34).

[54] Found at Khimeśvara temple no. 1 (pls. 66–67); Sun temples at Pātā and Pasnāvaḍā, and at latter place also the Gāyatrī temple (pl. 68); Bhīmadeval temple near Prāvī (pl. 49). A piece survives in the Kadvār temple (pl. 71). The Sun temple at Kinderkheḍā possesses two blind grilles (pl. 65).

[55] The pillars that once belonged to temple no. 1 at Oḍadar (pls. 69–70), and those of the Saptāmatṛkā shrine at Boricā are carved; as is one in the Piṭhaḍa mātā temple at Beḷej.

[56] Temples at Bileśvara and Khimeśvara nos. 1, 2 (figs. 8a, b). For the first see also Cousens, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX.

[57] In a general way this agrees with the pillars in the caves at Ajaṇṭa and Aurangābād.

[58] Magaḍerum at Dhrāsaṇavel (pl. 42), and Kanakasena Cāvaḍā's temples at Vasai.

The pillars have bracket capitals, mostly of the double *taraṅga* (roll) type, though a few with *kumāra*[59] caryatids are also found.[60]

There are normally no true ceilings covering the *śālā* (nave) and *alindas* (aisles) of the hall, or the *antarāla* vestibule or the interior of the *garbhagṛha* (cella). A course of long, log-like stone slabs placed at intervals, with a second spanning the intervening spaces is the method—simple, even primitive—employed in covering the interior.[61] This mode of construction is observable on most of the Maitraka and a few of the Saindhava temples.[62] Another technique is to use a single course of broad, thin, board-like slabs.[63] In Saindhava buildings the ceilings of the cella and less often of the nave are formed of stones arranged in diaper patterns, conforming to the plain *vitāna* ceiling category.

The doorways of the sanctum, with few exceptions,[64] are simply treated though often subdivided into distinct jambs, *śākhās*. The sanctum itself is severely plain. In virtually every case the original cult images have disappeared. These sometimes were provided with *pīṭhikās* (seats); even the *liṅga*, which was placed near a wall instead of being on center.[65] Where the *garbagṛha* ceilings have been destroyed, the corbelled construction of the superstructure is exposed.[66] The halls are covered either by a flat or a sloping roof, surmounted by a *pidhāna phalakā* articulated with the fronton of the shrine superstructure. The ambulatory often has a flat cover, though slanting roofs are equally in evidence.[67]

Since the superstructure of the sanctum is more varied, it will be treated at greater length in our next section.

The extant Maitraka temples are meagrely decorated, and what enrichment exists is not of a high order. The repertory comprises architectonic, geometrical, floral, and figural elements. The architectonic designs are for the most part *candraśālās* of various sizes and details, miniature pillars, niches, panels, rafters'-ends, etc. Geometrical elements like lozenges, half-diamonds, and beaded circles, etc., are seen in the *ratnaśākhās* and grilles. The floral and vegetal patterns include lotus leaves, dog-tongue motifs, the lotus in full bloom, rosettes, half rosettes, *bakulamālā*, creepers, etc.[68] Figural decoration is extremely rare.

In the few instances where cult images have been preserved in situ or removed to museums, they often show good workmanship and aid in establishing the circumstances of the dedication as well as the date. This factor is discussed in detail in Section VI below.

[59] In the *Vāsturājavallabha* the so-called *kīcaka*, atlantid figures, are termed *kumāra* figures.

[60] These occur at Añjanī mātā temple near Chāyā, Kālikā mātā temple at Dhrāsanvel, and Bhīmadevala temple near Prācī; and originally must have been used also at Pāchtar. On the basis of the available evidence, they are not found before ca. A.D. 700.

[61] At Kadvār, Śrīnagara, Khimesvara, Kinderkheḍā, Pātā, and a number of others, most conspicuously at Pātā.

[62] Bhīmadevaḷa, for instance, displays this mode.

[63] Añjanī mātā temple near Chāyā, Sun temple at Pasnāvaḍā, old temple at Kuchdī.

[64] At the following temples: Varāha near Kadvār, Sun at Pātā, Koṭhā at Baḷej, Śiva at Boricā, and Khimrāṇā.

[65] At Bhāṇasarā and Khimeśvara temples nos. 2 and 3.

[66] At following temples: old at Gop; Śiva at Boricā; old at Visāvāḍā; Sun at Kinderkheḍā. Probably the ceilings in these cases were of wood, and so have disappeared. At Gop a fragment of wood was actually found in one of the rafter sockets.

[67] The slanting roof above an ambulatory is best illustrated at the Sun temple, Kinderkheḍā. The flat roof is visible at Khimeśvara temples nos. 1 and 2, Survarnatīrtha temple near Dvārkā, etc.

[68] Most of these decorations occur as early as the Gop temple and persist until the end of the Eo-Nāgara series (for which see p. 59). A very few later temples show a few still in use, while the temples of Roḍā significantly show none except the lotus flower. Their decor is more varied and far superior in choice and execution.

V

THE SUPERSTRUCTURE

The pre-Solaṅkī temples of this region are plain to the point of austerity, as has been said above. The criteria available for their classification are consequently very few. The typology of ground plans is not always a secure factor, since the older types of plans are known to have persisted in some cases even into the Saindhava period, in spite of marked advances in elevations. Secondly, the same type of plan is often common to temples otherwise of different categories.

The spire of the temple is the first useful criterion, both for classification and for chronological ordering. The morphology of socles is an auxiliary aid; and their comparative architectonometry adds clarity and definition to the relative chronology.

In temple superstructures four principal types may be discerned, i. e. *Phāṁsākāra*,[70] *Vimānākāra*, *Śikharanvita*, and *Valabhīcchandaja*. The first of three of these are further divisible into sub-classes.

PHĀṀSĀKĀRA

This class comprises temples that have a design of pyramidal roofs rising in receding tiers—the *phāṁsanās*—either with or without decoration by *candraśālā* dormers. The tiers exist in three different forms: the *kṣoṇī* (penthouse roof); the *kapota* (roll cornice); and the *śūrpa* (inverted cyma recta: see fig. 9). The choice of one or another of these in large measure determines the total appearance of the *phāṁsanā* roof. Three sub-groups are encountered, for which we propose the following names: Gāndhāric, Pseudo-Drāviḍian, and Śūrpodbhava.

Gāndhāric:

Extant examples here are few, but include the oldest surviving structural temple in Gujarat, the Maitraka period old temple at Gop (plates 7, 8). The *phāṁsanā* superstructure in the sub-group has a penthouse roof as its unit of superimposion.

[69] Some figural carving exists on the door frames at Kadvār, Pata, Khimrāṇā, and Bhīmadevaḷ, the grilles at Pasnāvaḍā, the door-sills at Khimeśvara no. 1 and the Sun temple at Śrīnagara.

[70] The late 11th century *Pramāṇamañjarī* calls the sloping, "wedge-shaped" roof of a house a *phānsākāra* (verse 123). The Phānsānā class of temples is the exclusive concern of chap. 178 of the *Aparājitapṛccha* (for which see *The A. P. of Bhuvanadeva*, Baroda Oriental Inst., 1950. According to the *AP*, Phānsānā is one of the 14 *jātis*, types of temples. It is "sexless" as compared to the male Nāgara and the female Valabhī. The Phāṁsanās thus described are of course more evolved in form than those involved in this paper, but the connection is perfectly clear.

[71] See Prasanna-Kumāra Acharya, *An Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture*, Manasāra Series, VII, p. 136.

[72] The *Samarāṅgaṇa* uses this term in the sense of *chādya* (see chap. 67/75). If taken in the sense of *daṇḍachādya*, corrugated roof, it is only a sub-variety of penthouse roof. If used in the sense of *khuracchādya*, it may have the form of a large *vitaṅka* or *kapotapālikā*, i. e. a cornice in an inverted cyma recta form.

A similar penthouse design is also seen in the temples of Kashmir, which in general preserve many residual Gāndhāran elements. For this reason the ultimate inspiration of the Gujarat version has also been claimed as Gāndhāran;[73] hence the name assigned for this particular class. It is generally agreed that the stone temples of Kashmir are later than the Gop building by about two centuries, and hence could not themselves have been the source of influence.[74] A penthouse roof is more natural in a region of snowfalls like Gāndhāra. The influence of the art and architecture of Gāndhāra has already been noted in the *stūpa* at Śāmalājī, the date of whose earlier work, if contemporary with the enclosed reliquary, would be ca. A.D. 205. The caves at Uparkot Junāgaḍh also reveal a borrowing from Gāndhāra in their pillar decoration, as has been noted. Thus the possibility that Gāndhāran usages still lingered in the area when the Gop temple was being built cannot be ruled out.

The old temple at Kadvār has a two-tiered penthouse roof over its ambulatory; but as its principal superstructure, rising above the cella proper, must rather have been of the *valabhī*, keel roof, order, it cannot be considered a fully qualified member of the sub-group. Similarly in the Gāyatrī temple at Pasnāvaḍā both the ambulatory and the closed hall are covered by superimposed penthouse roofs, but the superstructure above the inner cella is a truncated Nāgara *śikhara* tower (plate 52).

With reference to the further evolution of the type of roof seen at Gop and in Kashmir, Dr. Stella Kramrisch has aptly observed that it "did not lend itself to great development in stone or brick buildings, due to the meagreness, as a plastic form, of the pent roof of laminated boards".[75] In fact its use in pre-Solaṅkī temples was apparently very limited; and when the Nāgara *śikhara* advanced to the forefront, the penthouse roof was subordinated to its soaring mass, and relegated to the *phāṁsanā* coverings of the halls rather than the cella proper. It is seen in that capacity in proto-Solaṅkī temples of Gujarat such as the late eighth century Temple VI at Roḍā,[76] the early tenth century Trineteśvara temple near Thān,[77] and the Śiva temple of the same period at Koṭāi in Kutch. In Rajasthan also it is found with the same function, as illustrated by the superstructure of the closed hall of the Mahāvīra temple (last quarter of the eighth century) at Osiā,[78] and the early ninth century principal shrine in the group of rock-cut temples at Dhanmar.[79] After the tenth century the penthouse roof totally disappears from Western India.

Pseudo-Dravidian:

The temples of this sub-group have been mistaken for Dravidian ones primarily because their *phāṁsanā* consists of courses of roll cornices. The latter, or *kapota*, had been popular in South India from very early times, and is almost always seen in the temples of the Chālukyas, the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Coḷas, and the Cerās. Aside from this accidental resemblance, however, there is little in common between the two styles; hence the name here given.

[73] See Sankalia, *Archaeol. of Gujarāt*, p. 57.
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] See Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta 1946, I, p. 220.
[76] U. P. Shah, *Sculptures from Śāmalājī and Roḍā in the Baroda Museum*, 1960, fig. 91.
[77] Cousens, "Somanātha", pl. LI. For a similar roof at Koṭai see Burgess, "Kāthiāwād", pl. LXIV. On the other hand the 9th cent. temple at Matodā shows it on the cella proper.
[78] See D. R. Bhandarkar in *Archaeol. Survey, Ann. Rep.*, 1908–09, pl. XI (b).
[79] The authors are deeply indebted to Shri Krishna Deva for this information.

The sub-group may be further resolved into two series: those with plain tiers, and those whose tiers are enriched by *candraśālā* dormers. To the first belong the old temple standing on the east side of Oḍadar village, temple no. 3 in the Gorakh-maṭh group in the same vicinity, and the Cāmuṇḍā temple at Kinderkheḍā (plate 9). The second series has three representatives: the old temple at Visāvāḍā, the less well known temple of Rājal-Vejal at Juni Dhrevaḍ near Dvārkā (plates 10, 11), and the Dhiṅgeśvara temple near Chāyā.

Unlike South Indian practise, the roll cornice did not gain much favour in this region, and so never appears in its own right after the eighth century. An examination of the early Nāgara *śikharas* reveals its presence as their essential component. There, however, it has been dwarfed, multiplied, and subordinated to the discipline of the whole design. How it came there will be clarified below.

Sūrpodbhava:

The inverted cyma recta is the basic element of the pyramidal roofs in this sub-group. Two principal varieties exist, the *Śuddha* or pure, and the *Saṅghāṭa* or composite.

The *Śuddha* category may use either plain tiers, or tiers enriched by *candraśālās*. To the former belong nine buildings: the Śiva temple at Boricā, the Sun temple at Kinderkheḍā, the Sonkaṁsārī temple no. 5 (plates 12–14), the Añjanī mātā temple near Chāyā, the smaller Śiva temple at Śrīnagara, the Khimeśvara temple no. 7 (plate 15), the Sun temple at Pātā, the Oḍadar temple no. 4 (plate 16), and the Cheleśvara temple near Mehvāsā (plate 17).

The enriched category has four representatives: the Bhāṇasarā temple no. 3, the Sun temple near Jhamarā (plate 18), the Khimeśvara temple no. 3 (plate 19), and the Piṭhaḍmātā temple at Baḷej.

The composite, *Saṅghāṭa* group is so called because the principal, inverted cyma recta course alternates with a minor roll cornice. Here also there are two possibilities, and in the first the tiers are left plain (Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple near Bokhira, plate 20). In the other, the center bay is accented by a *latā* "creeper" formed by intermeshing *caitya* arches. Examples may be seen on the Sun temple at Pasnāvadā and Temple no. 3 at Jarḍeśvara near Rāṇāvāv (plates 21, 22). The Suvarṇatīrtha temple near Dvārkā, and Sonkaṁsari no. 4 (plates 23, 24) stand midway between the plain-tier *Śuddha* and the enriched *Saṅghāta* categories.

The *śurpa* or inverted cyma recta suffered the same fate as the *kapota* in later ages, with one notable exception. The central *jāla* or *lāta* of the enriched composite version was transmitted to the Nāgara *śikhara* design, to serve as its *madhya latā* or central spine.

VIMĀNĀKĀRA

This is one of the most popular classes of Maitraka period temples, and includes some of the largest examples in the territory. The typical superstructure is made up of storeys, *tala*, rising one above another with a narrow recessed band, *uccheda*, giving emphasis to the interval between each pair. The tier itself consists of a roll cornice, the quadrantal curve of which is masked at

the corners by *karṇakūṭas*, miniature shrine replicas. This use of a roll cornice makes the class a close cousin, in spite of different types of elaboration, to the Pseudo-Drāviḍian.

Generally the spire is topped by an *āmalasāraka* or "cogged-wheel stone"; in one case an octagonal cupola, the Drāviḍa *śikhara*, is used instead.

Buildings of this class resemble the Vimānas of the early Chālukya and Pallava temples of the South, although influences from either side are not implied. The two observable sub-groups may be called Pseudo-Drāviḍic and Neo-Drāviḍic. The former and stylistically earlier has a more emphatic Drāviḍian look. The latter, except for its two oldest examples, seems a partly degenerate sequel, in which the *karṇakūṭas* show both variation and simplification in their forms.

Pseudo-Drāviḍic:

The ten widely distributed monuments are: the Bhāṇasarā temples nos. 2, 5 (plates 25, 26) and 6; the old temple at Kalsār (plate 27); the Khimeśvara temples nos. 1 (plate 32), 2, and 5; the old temple on the hillside at Miyāṇī; the Bileśvara temple (plates 28–30); and the Sonkansārī temple no. 1 (plate 32).

Neo-Drāviḍic:

Six examples have so far been identified, viz.: the Sun temple and Vindhyavāsinī temple at Śrīnagara; the old temple at Piṇḍārā; the Kālikā mātā temple at old Dhrevaḍ; the Camuṇḍā temple at Degām; and the Bhāṇasarā temple no. 3 (plates 33–36).

The historical contribution of the Vimānākāra class, and particularly of the later phase of its Neo-Drāviḍic sub-group, was of great importance for the future. One aspect of its contribution will become apparent in the section immediately below.

ŚIKHARANVITA

A little later than the monuments of the Neo-Drāviḍic group, a new trend of far-reaching significance appears on the horizon. Its most important aspect is the gradual transformation of the superstructure into the Nāgara *śikhara* form, prevalent thereafter throughout North India. The necessary major changes are three, i. e.:

A condensation of the tiers or storeys into one total form.

A transmutation of the *candraśālā* motif by a progressive coalescence into *jāla*, lattice-work.

An integration of the corner aediculae, *karṇakūṭas*, on each storey with those of the top course, the "cogged-wheel stones", *bhūmi-kaṇḍas*. By this means the traditional silhouette batter becomes curved, and so can be called *veṇukośa* by analogy with the outline of a bent bamboo.

Here the three sub-groups again illustrate successive stages of evolution, and so have been termed Proto-Nāgara, Eo-Nāgara, and Early Nāgara.

Proto-Nāgara:

Only one monument marking the transition between the Vimāna and Nāgara stages is known: the ruined temple no. 1 in the Bhāṅasarā group (plate 37).

Eo-Nāgara:

Here the *śikharas*, although archaic and rudimentary, have the true Nāgara look. All are *latina* or *eka-śṛṅgī*, i. e. single-spired. Silhouette variations distinguish between the pyramidal and the curvilinear.

In the pyramidal series belong the Sun temple at Sūtrāpāḍā and the Koṭeśvara temple near Kālāvaḍ (plates 38, 39). Their *śikharas* still do not quite show the characteristic curvature of the Nāgara Jāti. The latter has been achieved in two other buildings, the Sun temple at Akhodar and the Sadevanta-Sāvaḷiṅgā temple at Pachtar (plates 40, 41).

Early Nāgara:

Here a further degree of evolution has led toward the crystallization and perfection of the Nāgara form. The designs may be either *latina* or *śekharī*, single or multitowered. They are further separable into *sa-jāla* and *a-jāla* categories depending on whether or not they use lattice-work on the *śikhara*.

Single-towered examples with lattice-work are, in chronological series: the Magaḍeruṁ temple at Dharāsaṇavel (plate 42), the temple alongside the Bhileśvara temple, the Miyāṇī temple no. 2 (plate 43), the Gaṇeśa Ḍerum at Ghumali (plate 44), and the Nandeśvara temple no. 4.

Single-towered examples without lattice-work are: the Rāndal temple at Visāvaḍā (plate 45), the Nandeśvara temple no. 5, temple no. 6 at Oḍadar, the Kālikā mātā temple at Dhrāsaṇvel (plate 46), the Pañcāyatana temples at Pachtar (plate 47) and near Miyāṇī, the Miyāṇī temples nos. 3 and 4, and the Kanaksena Cāvaḍā's temples at Vasai near Dvārkā.

Multi-towered structures with lattice-work are represented by two known examples, the Śiva temple at Khimrāṇā and the Bhīmadevaḷ temple near Prācī (plates 48, 49).

Multi-storeyed towers without lattice-work are known so far by three examples: the Sonkaṁsārī temple no. 3, the Miyāṇī temple no. 1 (plates 50, 51) and the Nandeśvara no. 3.

Although the regional Nāgara style was born and developed in Saurāṣṭra, it was supplanted from about the mid tenth century on by a kindred but superior style which had been fostered in the neighboring territory of Northern Gujarat. This point will be dwelt on at some length in the final section.

VALABHĪCCHANDAJA

Only one example has come down to us as an example of the *valabhī*, wagon-vault or keel-roof, class (plate 55), Khimeśvara no. 6. Others with oblong cella plans, which have lost their superstructures, may originally have been crowned by *valabhī*. Normally temples harboring the Ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu or the Seven Mothers accompanied by Gaṇeśa and Vīreśvara, required

an oblong cella to accommodate their images; i. e. a plan type more suited to the age-old keel-roof, known from at least Mauryan times, rather than a *śikhara*.

This class has left no progeny in our region, and indeed apparently disappeared after the ninth century even in Kaliṅga, Central India, and Himachal Pradesh where earlier examples are known. In South India, where it is known as *śālā śikhara*, it retained its position until the late mediaeval period as a superstructure to a *gopura* in particular.

VI

CLASSIFICATION AND CHRONOLOGY

When Cousens wrote his report, the geographical distribution of these monuments was thought to extend between Sūtrāpāḍā and Miyāṇī; now it has been enlarged to cover the area between Piṇḍārā and Kaļsār. In the matter of style, also, a number of sub-varieties have been recognized since Cousen's time, as the foregoing section has demonstrated.

The monuments at Valabhī itself have vanished; nothing is left of the splendours of that metropolitan architecture. Most of the extant shrines in Saurāṣṭra are at village scale (except for Ghumali, which was the seat of the Saindhavas, and Gop which probably was a district head-quarters in earlier, Maitraka times). If these buildings fully represent the style prevalent in the Maitraka period, and if we assume that Valabhī, too, revealed the same types, it is more than clear that the domain of superior art traditions lay outside the Maitraka homeland, i. e. in Northern Gujarat, Rājasthān, and Central India. However, a more accurate assessment of this statement must wait on the detailed analysis of monuments, given below according to the classes discussed in the preceding section.

PHAṀSĀKĀRA

Gāndhāric:

(1) Old Temple at Gop.

This building, situated some four miles east of the present village of Gop, a little south of the River Vartu (which was called the Vartroi during the Saindhava period), at Junā Gop or Jhiṇā-vārī Gop (Old Gop lat. 22, 1.75'; long. 69, 55.75'), is by far the best known and most often discussed of the early temples of Gujarat.

The building stands on a lofty terrace *(jagatī* or *upapīṭha)*, which is square in plan plus an extension on the eastern side (fig. 16). The *sāndhāra* shrine has lost its ambulatory walls, and its basement is in ruins; the complex of opposed flights of steps that once led to the top of the basement has long since disappeared. There is and was no proper *maṇḍapa;* perhaps the basement projection in front of the cella was intended as a substitute.

The *jagatī* terrace, now in lamentable ruins, is elaborately embellished by a series of mouldings, enriched by carving and figural sculptures. Its original appearance, together with that of the basement above, has been restored to scale in fig. 3, after a careful study of the best preserved details, on the northern and southern sides.[80] In plan and elevation it was marked by several

[80] The illustration covers the portion from a little beyond the center to the corner.

slightly projecting buttresses, *rathas*. It is 63 feet 4 inches square; if the extension on the front is included, the total length is 84 feet 4 inches.

The mouldings of the *jagatī* are, in ascending order (fig. 12):
Three plain courses, progressively diminishing in height, called *janma*, *alaṅkāra-jagatī*, and *upāna*;[81]
Kumuda, surmounted by *kṣepaṇa* and *padma*;
Kaṇṭha, surmounted by *ūrdhva-padma* and its tip, topped by *vājana*;
A wide *pāda* punctuated by pilastered niches, some of which originally contained figures;
Uttara, *valabhī*, and *kapota*.

Normally the sequence of mouldings would have stopped at this point, but the designer had a loftier concept. He probably had in reaching this level exploited the full repertory of mouldings known in his time; and so achieved an additional height by repeating some of them in reduced and simplified versions. These are:

Three narrow mouldings, *vājana*, *kandhara*, and *kampa*, as an interlude.[82] Upon them begins the second stage of the *jagatī*, with:
Janma and *alaṅkāra-jagatī* (omitting the *upāna*);
A substitute for the *kumuda*, a sort of *vṛtta vājana*;
Kampa, and a wide *kaṇṭha* instead of *padma*;
Uttara and *kapota*, topping this second tier.

The third stage, omitting all previous courses, begins with:

Kaṇṭha, followed by *padma-vājana* and *kampa*.

The total height of the *jagatī*, made up of these 26 mouldings, is 11 feet 7 inches.

The *pāda* portion, or main frieze, of the *jagatī* deserves careful study, since it repeats at lesser scale the cross-section of the building's interior. In the central *bhadra* panel one sees, as it were, the deity within the cella, with door frame and pilasters. The adjoining recess corresponds to a longitudinal section through the hall. Next, in the *anuratha* or *pratiratha* is seen a *ghanadvāra* or sham door, with an *illikātoraṇa* (in miniature, the earliest instance so far known). In the adjoining recess the *garbhagṛha* with its *antarāla* vestibule is simulated. Now comes the *pratikarṇa*, with a pilastered niche similar to that seen on the *anuratha*. Once again a recess follows, in which has been carved a lengthwise section of a *maṇḍapa* porch with square pillars. The terminal *karṇa* at the corner is treated like the *bhadra*, with slight variations in detail.

In the second stage of the *jagatī* base, the recesses in the *kaṇṭha* frieze show simulated pillars and doorways.

The figure sculptures, if preserved at all, are greatly eroded.

The extension of the *jagatī* to the front has a number of unusual features. Access to the terrace top was provided on north and south, rather than on the east, where one finds moonstones (*ardhacandras*, or *candraśilās*; fig. 16). The two buttresses that project east from the *jagatī* wall

[81] Since the original ground was uneven, sloping toward the west, these courses were made progressively higher as one proceeds westward. This anomaly, caused by unusual local circumstances, has nothing to do with the style, and so this feature has been omitted in the restoration.

[82] For making the transition or take-over.

were once provided with *vedikā* railings and a *mattavāraṇa* seat-back, as existing fragments demonstrate. The flights of steps followed the directions of the arrows marked on the plan. The masonry of these staircases has totally disappeared, save for a few fragmentary courses of its profile wall on the north side. A *dvārapāla* figure recovered during a recent clearing indicates that originally each flight was flanked by a pair of such guardians.

Resting on the *jagatī*, the *adiṣṭhāna* or base of the building is 41 feet 4 inches square, plus the extension on the east; broken by broad *bhadra* niches, *karṇas* of the *tri-phālanā-ukta* type, and wide recesses between. The elevation comprises fewer mouldings than those of the terrace; the sequence is:

> *Vajrakumbha; kampa; kaṇṭha; uttara; kapota;* another *kampa; pāda; valabhī; vājana; kapota;* and a crowning third *kampa.*

The *kaṇṭha* is decorated with simulated pillars and niches in miniature.

The main *pāda* frieze is punctuated in each *bhadra* area by an arched niche with flanking attendants (those on the west side still in situ). The niches themselves are vacant except on the north, where a highly eroded Śaiva (?) deity occurs. The niches that fill the *karṇa* areas at the corners are also vacant except at the northwest, where another badly eroded figure, perhaps Rāma or Sūrya, remains. The frieze along each of the recesses is enlivened by three pilastered panels harboring pairs of playful gnomes, *pramathas.*

The *valabhī* here is replaced by a band filled at some points with plain half-lozenges and elsewhere with semicircles. The *uttara* is enriched by a dog-tooth motif alternating with lotus flowers.

The moulded wall of the ambulatory started just above the *adiṣṭhāna.* A remaining fragment shows that if the floor level inside were not taken into consideration, the exterior treatment might have been thought of as a continuation of the *adiṣṭhāna.* The tops of the *bhadra* niches, for example, extend into this wall portion. The nature of the rest of the wall will perhaps never be known. Cousens thought of it as pilastered, in the fashion seen at Bileśvara, which in turn resembles those of the Sind *stūpas* at Thūl Mir Rukān and Mīrpur Khās.[83]

The walls of the tall, square cylindrical cella are topped by *kapota-gala* and *vājana.* Above is a *kaṇṭha* course in which simulated rafters' ends are shown.

The *dvibhūma phāṁsanā* superstructure over the cella is made up of two large, superimposed penthouse roofs, separated by a *vājana* and a *kaṇṭha.* Both roof stages are embellished by large-scale, prominently projecting *ćandraśālā* dormers, two on each side of the lower and one on the upper. The latter enclose niches which were intended to shelter deities; a Gaṇeśa is still found on the west, and on the north is what Burgess refers to as "another Deva":[84] a seated goddess in the *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* position, holding a staff-like object in her right hand, whom Shri Krishna Deva has identified as a form of Pārvatī. The *phāṁsanā* is topped by a quasi-conical *culikā,* interesting in that it is clearly the precursor of the *candrikā* found topping the *āmalasāraka* of later temples. Here it is incomplete, since what must have been a *kalaśa* surmounting it has been lost.

The cella doorway was either simple from the start, or has been restored with plain members.

[83] Cousens, *op. cit.,* p. 37. The *upapīṭha* of the recently excavated *stūpa* at Sāmalāji in north Gujarat shows this same feature.
[84] Burgess, *op. cit.,* p. 187.

On one of its jambs are engraved seven Brāhmī letters. The doorway is topped by a *cādya* formed by a roll cornice.

Inside the cella are two images, locally called Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, who are in fact Viṣṇu and Skanda respectively.[85] Both wear a transparent *dhotī* with the knot on the right side of the waist. The hands of the Viṣṇu are sadly mutilated, but the club and wheel in the upper pair are still discernible. The damaged head wears an octagonal, bejewelled *mukuṭa*, and is backed by a lotus aureole. The two attendant females also have suffered mutilation. The Skanda is two-armed, with the left hand resting on the hip and the right carrying a long spear. The face is much eroded; the head is crowned by a kind of low *jaṭābhāra*.

The affiliations and age of the Gop temple have been much discussed. Burgess, commenting on the presence of the Brāhmī letters on the doorway, observed:

"It is not easy to say what may be the age of these letters; but I am inclined to regard the building as the oldest structure of the kind in Kāṭhiāwāḍ and probably not later than the sixth century; how much older I am not at present prepared to say... On the fragments of the basement that remain are many curious dwarf figures like the gaṇa we find on the caves of Bādāmī, and on the old Vaishṇava temple at Aihole."[86]

It was, however, Cousens' original remarks that initiated a chain of interesting discussions. About the Gop type of temple he observes:[87]

"They have such a striking resemblance to the early shrines in Kāśmir such as the old Sun temple at Mārtand, of the middle of the eight century, that we can have little doubt that this particular style was introduced from these northern valleys, probably by the Sun-worshipping ancestors of the Mers whom we find occupying this part of Kāthiāwāḍ. Standing out conspicuously by its size and purity of style is the old ruined shrine at Gop which is thought to be the oldest structure in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. Though there are but the interior walls and the roof of the *cella*, the latter is so markedly Kāśmirian that there can be no doubt of its origin... Besides the stepped-out pyramidal roof, with its prominent little window-like arched niches, another marked similarity to the Kāśmirian temples is found in the trefoil arches seen around the basement. This is not seen again in Kāṭhiāwāḍ unless it can be detected in the trefoil form given to the little arched niches as seen on the roof of the temple of Sūrya at Sutrāpādā. The temple at Gop was not built by prentice hands; expert masons and sculptors accustomed to this particular class of work, must have been imported from the north for the building of this temple, and there could not have been much interval of time between the northern shrines and this temple at Gop for any question of modification to have crept in."[87]

Commenting on Cousens' views, Dr. Sankalia observes: "The Kashmirian analogy makes the question of dating the Gop temple a little complex. Burgess thought it at least as old as the 6th century A.D. and other writers have accepted his view. Now none of the present Kashmīr temples is older than the 8th century. And if the Gop-style came from the north as Cousens thinks, its likely 'source' and time of coming should be examined in order to ascertain whether it is so... According to Cousens this style was introduced in south-western Kāthiāwār by the

[85] Nanavati, J.M., "The Temple at Gop", *Journal of the Saurashtra Research Society*, I, no. 2, Sept. 1957.
[86] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 187. Cousens reiterates this theory with even greater emphasis in *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, 1926, p. 13.
[87] Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

ancestors of the Mers. Unfortunately the history of this people is not at all clear. All the theories aggress that the Mers came from North India, perhaps with the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa, and a section of them entered Kāthiāwār. But no theory says that they passed through Kashmīr on their way to India. So the kinship of the Gop temple with those of Kashmīr through the Mers remains unestablished... It is possible, however, that the style of 'the angular roofed vihāra of Gandhāra' which is supposed to have influenced the temple architecture of Kashmīr might have also influenced the temples of Kāthiāwār through Sind. This cultural contact may have been brought about by Buddhism, which was prevalent in the western and north-western parts of India, Kāthiāwār, Sind, the Panjab, and also Kashmīr in the early centuries of the Christian era, as has been shown by the finds of Buddhist monasteries in those places and previously attested to by Hiuen Tsiang. Gandhāran influence may be also traced in the arched niches of the stūpa walls at Mirpurkhās, beside that in the pillars there. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the same influence may have further penetrated Kāthiāwār and brought about a change in the existing style of architecture, of which the temple at Gop is a surviving example... But the Gandhāran influence should not be relied on too much. In the case of the Gop temple the only change which is wrought seems to be in the shape of the roof. The native dome-like sikhara was made stepped and angular, as described above. With regard to the second point of similarity between the Kashmīr and the Gop temple, namely the arched niche containing figures on the basement of the courtyard, it must be said that the similarity ends with the motif only. At Gop there is no trefoil; the sides of the niche are quite perpendicular, whereas Kashmīr directly imitated Gandhāra... Instead of the Kashmīrian analogy we may accept the Gandhāran for what it is worth. If the stūpa at Mirpurkhās be dated in the 4th or 5th century A.D. on the evidence of the style of its sculpture, etc., the same date may be fixed for the Gop temple. In any case the latter cannot be placed earlier than the Uparkot caves at Junāgadh, because though the caitya-window ornaments at both the places are similar, as pointed out before, still this ornament at Junāgadh seems to be earlier as it has retained the vedikā motive which at Gop is lost, showing thereby that the Gop temple belongs to a later phase of its evolution, and may be assigned, hence, to the 5th century A.D., that is, a century earlier than that fixed by Burgess."[88]

Commenting on both earlier views, S.K. Saraswati has observed:[89]

"On the evidence of the shape of the basement arches in the Gop temple Sankalia hesitatingly suggests a Gandhāran influence through Sindh. But this view also can not be pressed strongly, as the fundamental elements of the design and composition of the Gop temple have hardly any parallels in the Gandhāran monuments. In our opinion the two major features in the composition of the Gop temple, followed also in several other monuments of the region evidently of this class, are the situation of the sanctum within a covered ambulatory and the stepped arrangement of the roof. Of the first a parallel may be recognised in the plan of what has been designated as the storeyed type of Gupta temples. On this analogy the stepped arrangement of the roof in the Gop temple may, perhaps, be considered as but a slightly different expression of the storeyed conception of the superstructure in the Gupta temple. The bold and emphatic steps in the roof of the temple at Gop resemble, though in a less pronounced manner, the storeys in receding stages, characteristic of the composition of the roof in the Gupta temple, and lend a plausibility

[88] Sankalia, H.D., *op. cit.*, pp. 57–59.
[89] Saraswati, S.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 584–85.

to the suggestion made above. The appearance of chaitya arches as gables on the roof is very old and may be traced back to the days of Bhārhut. There is no necessity, hence, to draw upon the doubtful Kāshmirian analogy. Cousens has further noticed certain analogous features in the temple at Gop and in what he describes as 'early Dravidian temples' at Aihole and Paṭṭadakal; but he regards them as 'purely accidental'. To our mind, however, such analogies are of greater import with regard to the affiliations of the Gop temple, particularly in view of the fact that an almost identical plan also characterises the early temples of Deccan. Here also among the different shapes of the superstructures we have both the storeyed as well as the stepped arrangement. Such temples are approximately contemporary to the temple at Gop and both may be considered to be but slightly different expressions of the same conception."

Before examining the views put forward by the aforementioned two authorities, recent observations of Shri Soundara Rajan may be considered. "The temple at Gop which appears to be one of the earliest structural temples in Saurashtra shows many interesting features. The temple is datable to mid 7th century A.D....[90] The spire combines the pyramidal and the barrel-shaped features producing a form which while certainly appearing to be a gable-ended roof, is of course not functionally a gabled or multiple roof as Percy Brown mistook it to be.[91] Unlike the Sankarachary and other temples at Kashmir, with which Percy Brown classes it as a gable-roof temple, it has no overhanging storey nor a structurally knit gable projection. Indeed, the Caitya dormer is in reality an embellishing motif to relieve the pyramidal plainness of it..."[92] "This style has not been in any way influenced by Kashmir gable roof idiom which implies direct borrowal from wood architectural specimens in which lightness, slopey roof and height are of significance from a geographical and climatic point of view, to ward off heavy snowfall and short wintry days with little sunlight inside structures..."[93] On the other hand its *śikhara* has a common link with the Aihole temple *śikhara* with only this difference that while the latter had shown a recessed plan, here it is a plain square plan. It is an almost exact rendering in three dimensions of one of the *śikhara* types shown in relief on either side of the Visvakarma cave façade at Ellora—a design which is also seen on the *kapota* frieze of the main entrance of Deogarh temple."[94]

Mr. Douglas Barrett in an arresting article on a thurible cover from Waziristan incidentally brings in the Gop temple for comparison.[95]

"The origin and date of the Gop *śikhara* have long exercised scholars. Comparison with Kāshmiri monuments of the eighth century A.D. and later is not helpful, though such few elements as they share may suggest a common origin. That more examples of the Gop type of *śikhara* probably existed, and that in the 'Gandhāra' area, is evident from the British Museum thurible. The distinctive features of the thurible are the use of the heavy *āmalaka* below the Gop-type finial, and the superimposed *āmalakas* at the corners. Nevertheless, it comes closer to Gop than any surviving temple *śikhara*. The date of Gop favoured by scholars varies between the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Recently a radio-carbon test of wood from a beam in the wall of the *śikhara* has given a date about A.D. 550. If we accept a standard deviation of $\pm$ 150

[90] Soundara Rajan, K. V., *op. cit.*, p. 2.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 4. [94] *Ibid.*
[95] Barrett, Douglas, "A Thurible Cover from Waziristan", *The British Museum Quarterly*, XXII, no. 3–4.

years for the Calcutta equipment, this will yield a two-thirds probability of A.D. 400 to 700. The form of the caitya windows, however, with their voluted finials suggests a comparison with post-Gupta fragments from Mūrti in the Salt Range and with such monuments at the Viśvakarmā Cave at Elura. This, together with the fairly elaborate articulation of the basement walls of the pradakshināpāthā would indicate a seventh century A.D. date for Gop, and probably for the three thurible covers."[96]

The general consensus is against the theory of Kashmirian origin; as we have seen, Sankalia and Barrett argue that the apparent similarities to temples in Kashmir may be due to a common source, Gandhāra. Saraswati and Soundara Rajan, however, are inclined to stress affiliations with Aihole monuments. Examination of this latter theory has been reserved for our last section, since a number of temples beside Gop are involved. It may be said here at least that the bold penthouse roof theme, the functional utility of which is negligible in Saurāṣṭra, is clearly exotic and points to the northwest rather than the south.

The controversial views held on the date of the temple need a deeper probe. Dr. Sankalia's proposal to ascribe it to the fifth century by analogy with the *stūpa* at Mirpur Khās is untenable on two grounds. First, the *stūpa* has been shown to have affinities with the *stūpa* at Śāmalājī, and consequently should be dated in the fourth century, not the fifth. Secondly, the parallels between it and the Gop temple are too few and unemphatic to suggest contemporaneity. The overall impression resulting from the comparison is that Gop is later. A dating to the mid seventh century, on the other hand, seems a trifle too late. The simulation of timber construction in the roof is an early feature; while the form of the roof *candraśālās* points—disregarding certain minor advances—to Uparkoṭ. Careful stylistic criticism, aided by epigraphy, can furnish more accurate dates than the radio-carbon method. The time locus of Gop may be fixed on the following grounds:

1) The Brāhmī letters carved on the jambs of the cella cannot be satisfactorily deciphered, since the characters are local variations of the provincial script. Even so their general structure recalls the mannerisms of the sixth century.[97]

2) Although the typical Gupta decorations are lacking on this temple, its *jagatī* has a basic similarity to that of the Gupta temple at Deogarh; though aside from its regional peculiarities the Gop building is more elaborate. The Deogarh date is now assumed to be about the first quarter of the sixth century; the Gop temple may be some decades later.

3) The frieze of dwarfs recalls the ones of Cave III at Bādāmī (ca. A.D. 578)[98] and of the inner sanctum of the Durgā temple at Aihole (now placed around A.D. 650).[99]

4) The mouldings of the niche that shelters Jhambhala in the recently excavated vihāra at Sirpur show a strong family likeness with those of the *jagatī* at Gop, in spite of geographical remoteness.[100] This vihāra, according to epigraphic evidence, was built in the time of the Pāṇḍu-

[96] The thurible cover illustrated by Barrett is moulded like an aedicule of an archaic Nāgara śikhara rather than of a *phāṁsanā*, since *bhūmi-āmalakas* are present. In fact the cover comes nearer in conception to the śikhara of the Sun Temple at Akhodar (our Plate 40).

[97] This is the considered opinion of Shri Krishna Deva as well as of Dr. H. G. Shashtri.

[98] "Bas reliefs of Badami", *Mem. of the Archaeol. Survey of India*, no. 25, pl. XV, b.

[99] Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, second ed., Bombay, 1945, pl. XXXIIII, fig. 2. There is a general agreement among scholars that the Durgā temple should be placed after the Mahākuṭeśvara and the Malegitti Śivālaya.

[100] Dikshit, M. G., *Heritage of Indian Art*, II, *Sirpur and Rajim Temples*, Bombay, 1960, pl. 51.

vaṃśi king Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna of South Kośala, who flourished during the late sixth and early seventh centuries.

5) A similar resemblance may be detected between the niche of the archaic *prahāra (vimāna vedikā)* of the well known Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur and those of the Gop *jagatī*. The former was built by Vāsṭā, mother of the afore-mentioned king Mahāśivagupta, and so its date has been assigned to around A.D. 600.[101]

6) The figures of Viṣṇu and Skanda, the *pratīhāra*, Pārvatī in the *candraśālā*, and the Gaṇa images are not in the best Gupta style, but point rather to its end phase.

All these factors taken together seem to favor the last quarter of the sixth century as the most probable date for the construction of the Gop temple. The further question of its dedication is difficult to answer. The temple has been thought to be sacred to the Sun God, but no substantiating evidence is known. The door frame whose tutelary image would have been a key to the cult image within is now empty. The *candraśālā* on the second tier of the eastern front is severely damaged, and the figure inside, which also might have thrown some light, has disappeared. The absence of a *pīṭhikā* within the cella does not favor the possibility of any *sākāra* cult image being in possession of the temple. At the same time the Viṣṇu and Skanda images in the cella are large and of the kind meant to be worshipped, rather than being merely members of the *bhūṣaṇa devatā* category.[102] In fact they are too large to fit into the cardinal niches of the *adhiṣṭhāna*. Their connection with this temple is indeed uncertain.

In the *adhiṣṭhāna* itself only two out of the original ten images are in situ. If the one in the northwest corner is Rāma, one might suspect that the remaining nine niches were occupied by the other nine incarnations of Viṣṇu. A mutilated figure still standing in the southern *bhadra* niche of the *adhiṣṭhāna*, if it be Vaiṣṇava, would strengthen this conjecture. But the presence of the Skanda, who belongs to the Śaiva pantheon, would then remain unexplained. A *liṅga* of uncertain age lies some distance east of the temple; so the possibility of the dedication being originally a Śaiva one cannot be ruled out.

(2) Old Temple, Kadvār.

The Kadvār building cannot be placed unequivocally in the Gop group since the original design of its missing superstructure is unknown. It has been selected to follow the Gop description for two reasons: the covering of its ambulatory is made up of penthouse roof members; and secondly it possesses sculptural remains that aid in assigning it a date. Since a number of early temples that lack figural or inscriptional data possess the Kadvār type of *adhiṣṭhāna*, the question of their age involves the date of the Kadvār monument.

Kadvār (i.e. Kadwar; Lat. 20°, 51′; Long. 70°, 26.75′) is situated some seven miles southeast of Prabhās Pātaṇ. The village is about two furlongs away on the south side of the main road leading to Sūtrāpāḍā. The temple is located toward the west end of the village and is visible from a distance.

On plan it is an oblong *sāndhāra prāsāda* with a constricted closed hall and an unusual,

[101] Krishna Deva, "Laksmana Temple at Sirpur", *Jour. of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad*, no. 2, 1960.
[102] The belief that this temple might have been sacred to Sūrya has no advocates today.

recessed and bisected *pārśva-maṇḍapa*, lateral porch, on either side, which does not encompass the entrance to the closed hall (fig. 22).[103]

Unlike the Gop temple, this one has no *upapīṭha;* the *adhiṣṭhāna* lacks niches and recesses, and the mouldings are fewer. These simplifications give it a different look, but the fundamentals are essentially similar. The entrance is flanked on either side by a plain pilaster bearing a *kīrtti-mukha* mask (plate 59) of the type seen at Ajaṇṭā.[104] In the neighborhood of each pilaster is seen a blind, box-type grille filled with stylized lotus flowers. The dwarf pillars of the *pārśva-maṇḍapas* rest on an archaic short *vedikā.* The spaces between these pillars were once filled with grilles, now extant only on the eastern side of the *pārśva-maṇḍapa* to the left as one enters the temple (fig. 71). These grilles look like wooden boards relieved by one perforated course of large beaded circles, filled with vigorously rendered lotus flowers.[105]

The nave of the closed hall is delimited by four tall, plain square pillars. Two other pillars have been inserted later to give extra support.[106] In the northern and southern walls of the hall one finds a deep niche crowned by a *śūrasenaka* pediment. The cella is ablong and possesses an ornate *pañcaśākhā*, five-fasciae door-frame comprising: a *ratnaśākhā;* a plain *rūpastambha* with round *laśunaka*; *tāṭikā* and *padma*; an uncarved *śākhā* followed by a *bāhyaśākhā* bearing leaves; and another uncarved *śākhā.*[107] The *uttarāṅga* architrave shows five panels, each crowned by a *phāṁsanā.* These last shelter seated figures of Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Candra. Viṣṇu also appears as the *lalāṭa-bimba*, tutelary image, at the center of the door lintel; while above him on the *saubhāgyapaṭṭa* is Gaṇeśa.[108] The walls of the cella as well as of the whole sanctum are featureless.

The Kadvār temple presents some interesting problems with regard to its dedication, date, and the nature of its original superstructure. On these points Cousens observed:

"It is now dedicated to Varāha *avatāra*, or the boar incarnation of Vishnu; but from the unusual shape of the shrine, which is a long rectangle instead of a square, we may conclude that it originally contained all the ten principal *avatāras* ranged upon the seat along the back wall opposite the door. Both within and without the building are fragments of some of these, among them being that of Vāmana or the dwarf, and of Paraśurāma with his bow and sheaf of arrows...[109] It would have been very interesting to have known how the builders ran up the *śikhara* and finished it off on the oblong rectangular plan, possibly on the same lines as that of Bileśvara with fewer and heavier courses...[110] The *śikhara* of the shrine was of the same early type as that of the large temple at Bileśvara, but nearer in point of time, perhaps, to the old temple at Gop and the oldest shrine at Visāvāda...[111] A sure sign of the great age of the temple is the image of the river goddesses Gaṅgā (Ganges) and Yamunā (Jumna) standing one upon either side of the shrine doorway at the bottom."[112]

[103] Cousens, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII.
[104] *Rupam*, 1920, no. 1, fig. 5.
[105] Cousens, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX.
[106] Shown by Cousens; omitted in our plan.
[107] Cousens, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXII and XXXIV.
[108] As Sankalia has noticed, Ganeśa has been relegated to a subsidiary position here.
[109] Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Cousens' observations may now be scrutinized in the light of a fresh examination of the temple.

As Cousens thought the building was surely a Daśāvatāra temple; but the evidence for this surmise is more complex than he supposed. The two figures which he pointed out as members of the original ten, Vāmana and Paraśurāma, (actually a Rāma), belonged instead to a very large *parikara*, image frame; shown restored in Fig. 36 on the basis of Cousens' sketches and personal examination of the fragments. When entire this must have been some seven feet in height, inclusive of its pediment. It must have contained a "life-sized" image of some deity; who?

Owing to the presence of an old image of Varāha within the cella, the building has been popularly known as a Varāha temple. This figure is a little too small for the *parikara* in question, though contemporaneous with the building.[113] The present black stone *parikara* with which it is framed is not earlier than the eleventh century. It is clear that there was once another black stone Varāha, for its legs are still in the cella, along with a suppliant Śeṣa; and this fragment fits perfectly into the later black *parikara*.

The conundrum of the two *parikaras* may be solved when it is realized that the older frame must have been designed for an almost life-sized early Varāha image. The jambs carry various *avatāra* figures. The left jamb, as we face it, shows Matsya,[114] Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, and Buddha; the right, Kūrma, Paraśurāma, Rāma, and Balarāma. The ninth incarnation, probably Kalkī, must have been in the niche at the center of the pediment. Apparently, though the temple was a Daśāvatāra dedication, a special prominence was given to the Varāha incarnation. When Mahmūd of Ghazni invaded Prabhāsa in A.D. 1026, he must have descended on this temple as well, since it lay on his route. The installation of a new Varāha image, the figure in black stone, must have taken place after his departure. This incidentally points to the fact that in the eleventh century, too, Varāha was given more prominence than the other incarnations. Except for Cousens' Paraśurāma, a bust which may be Rāma or even Balarāma, no other early images of the other *avatāras* exist.[115]

While Cousens' belief that the Kadvār temple must have been near in time to the old temple at Gop is quite acceptable, it is difficult to agree with his suggestion about the type of superstructure that once covered its oblong cella. This superstructure—if indeed the builders ever raised one—could hardly have been of the Bileśvara type, since the latter does not fit an oblong plan. True, at Kaḷsār there is a storeyed pyramidal spire over an oblong; but the plan is closer to a square than at Kadvār. The superstructure that would have been fitting is the *valabhī*, the wagon-vault type which occurs in a number of slightly later monuments in other parts of the country, and was indeed habitual for oblong structures.

As to the problem of date, Cousens' citation of the location of Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures at the bottom of the door jambs is inconclusive, since this practise persisted right up to the end of the Solaṅkī period. In fact late texts like *Vāstuvidyā* (early twelfth century) and *Aparājitapṛcchā* (late twelfth century) still recommend their representation there.[116]

[113] *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV.

[114] *Ibid.*; our fig. 36.

[115] *Ibid.*

[116] "Kālindī vāmaśkhāyāṁ dakṣiṇe ca-iva Jhānhvī": vide the *Aparājitapṛcchā*, 132, 4. A similar statement is made in the *Vāstuvidyā*.

Other stylistic factors, however, reinforce Cousens' attribution. The penthouse roof with its projecting dormers is less elaborate and bold than at Gop. The look of the figure sculptures on the architrave, and the hair style and ornaments of the Varāha image, still reveal Gupta idioms, though at the fag end of the style. Thus the building is likely to have been erected a generation or so later than the Gop temple, probably in the first quarter of the seventh century.[117]

(3) Gāyatrī Temple, Pasnāvaḍā.

Pasnāvaḍā (i. e. Pasnawāra; Lat. 20°, 55.50'; Long. 70°, 33.25') is a small village situated some fifteen miles east of Prabhās Pāṭan, and eight miles beyond Kadvār. About two miles southeast of the village stands the old temple, now dedicated to Gāyatrī devī but once very probably to Śiva (plate 52). The building is a *sāndhāra* example, facing east, and with its closed hall is rectangular in plan (fig. 28). Sometime in the Solaṅkī period a plain *raṅgamaṇḍapa* (now in ruins) was added to it. The original structure measures 39 feet 8 inches by 26 feet 2 inches.

The *adhiṣṭhāna* comprises: a *padma;* a wide *pāda*, followed by an *uttara* carved with semicircles and an *ambuja* bearing dog-tooth and lotus motifs; a large *kapota;* a *kṣepaṇa;* and finally a plain *paṭṭikā*. The basement is punctuated by two deep niches on the western side, and three each on the northern and southern. Each niche is crowned by a bi-striated *phāṁsanā* where a roll cornice is prominent.

The exterior walls of the building are plain, with a small *vājana* at the top. It is, however, relieved by grilled windows, one on the rear and two along each side wall. The three in the ambulatory are simple ones formed by vertical and cross bars; the two in the closed hall are "box-type" with individual motifs, geometrical, floral, or animal, placed in the nine "boxes".

The *phāṁsanā* roof over the ambulatory, continued also over the *guḍhamaṇḍapa*, consists of seven tiers decorated with *candraśālās*. Each tier is a penthouse roof. The increase in the number of tiers, their stylistic deterioration, and the advanced form of the *candraśālā* motif, point to the lateness of this temple in comparison to Gop. The cella is crowned by a plain, truncated Nāgara *śikhara*, over which have been placed a *cūlikā* and a *kalaśa*, stylized vase (plate 53). The form of the *cūlikā* is also degenerate when compared to the bold and shapely version that tops the Gop *śikhara*.

Inside, a plain square cella that originally had the Nine Planets on its *uttaraṅga*, now shelters strange, non-iconic pieces of carved stone worshipped as Gāyatrī mātā. The circular *karoṭaka* ceiling of the closed hall is supported on eight faceted pilasters: an octagonal feature that foreshadows the conventions of Solaṅkī period temples. The central *padmaśilā*, or lotus pendant, is the earliest of its kind so far known.[118]

On the evidence of Sūtrāpāḍā and other monuments to be discussed below, the date of this temple seems no earlier than the beginning of the eight century.

[117] Shri Krishna Deva arrived at this conclusion while surveying the building. Dr. U. P. Shah, as well, does not consider the sculptures as earlier than ca. A. D. 600.

[118] Nanavati, J. M. and Dhaky, M. A., "The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat", *Bull. of the Museum and Picture Gallery*, Baroda, 1962, fig. 3, a.

Pseudo-Dravidian:

A. Spire with plain tiers:

(1) Old Temple at Oḍadar.

Oḍadar (i. e. Adodar Lat. 21°, 35′; Long. 69°, 40.5′) is located some seven miles southeast of Porbandar. Its "old temple" stands east of the village, in an area of memorial stones and chapels. The building is a plain, square, mono-celled structure without porch or ambulatory facing east. The plain walls show *valabhī* and minor *kapota* at the top. The *caturbhūma phāṁsanā* above the cella consists of undecorated tiers with quadrant curves and is topped by an *āmalasāraka*.

The dedication is uncertain.

(2) Temple no. 4, Oḍadar.

About a furlong further east from the "old temple" stands an old two-storeyed house, beyond which one finds a group of five ancient temples and a few modern chapels inside a dilapidated rubble enclosure. The site is called Gorakhamaṭha after a modern shrine to Gorakhanātha that it contains. The old temples form two irregular rows, facing each other; three facing east and two west.

Out of the five, only no. 4 belongs to the class in question. It is smaller than the "old temple" and meagrely detailed, and recently has been thoroughly coated with cement plaster. The *phāṁsanā* consists of four diminishing tiers surmounted by an *āmalasāraka*.

(3) Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple at Kinderkheḍā.

Kinderkheḍā (or Kinderkhera: Lat. 21°, 48.25′; Long. 69°, 33.75′) possesses two old temples: the smaller now dedicated to Cāmuṇḍā mātā and the larger to Rāndal, the consort of the Sun God. The village is situated about twelve miles northwest of Porbandar. The Sun temple stands in the fields near the eastern outskirts; while the other is more than a furlong southwest of it.

The building, which faces east, consists of a plain square sanctum with a half-open porch supported by four simple dwarf square pillars (plate 9; fig. 13). The sanctum is covered by a *pañcabhūma phāṁsanā*, followed by a square *vedī* and a short *āmalasāraka*. The *kalaśa* pinnacle seems to be of later date. The porch possesses a *daṇḍacchādya* above the lintels, and a sloping roof. The pediment of the latter has a niche with a badly eroded image.

On the whole this temple seems to be relatively late in comparison with the preceding two.

B. Spire with decorated tiers:

(1) Old Temple, Visāvāḍā.

Visāvāḍā (or Visawāra: Lat. 21°, 46.25′; Long. 69°, 27′) is situated some sixteen miles northwest of Porbandar along the seaboard. Among the numerous temples in and around the village, three belong to pre-Solaṅkī days. The Śiva temple is about half a mile to the south; the Rāndal temple stands a short distance northeast of the village, beside an artificial lake; and still

further, about half a mile away, is located the "old temple", locally known as Saṅkhaḍeruṁ owing to the fancied resemblance of its spire to a conch shell (plate 10).

The ruined cella rests on an equally dilapidated *adhiṣṭhāna*. If the building was originally of the *sāndhāra prāsāda* type, with a walled ambulatory around the cella, the passage for circumambulation must have been extremely narrow. The hall has disappeared completely, leaving only two large square sockets in the cella where its joists were held, and a triangular scar on the frónton of the spire where its roof was set in. The cella is plain, vacant, and lacks a ceiling, so that the corbelled construction of the spire is exposed.[110] At the top of its walls run such moulding courses as *valabhī*, *kapota*, *kṣepaṇa*, and a second, slightly larger *kapota*.

The cella's *phāṁsanā* roof consists of four diminishing tiers decorated with heavy *candraśālās* in the sequence of 4, 3, 2, and 1. The one on the topmost tier is flanked by half dormers, and so forecasts the future trend where a trefoil becomes the predominant theme on all tiers, so as to form a mesh of lattice-work. In between the tiers are recessed courses of dentils. On top is an *āmalasāraka*, lacking its upper half and finial. The volume of the cella is perfectly balanced by the handsome proportions, the clear form, and the simple but well conceived decoration of the *caitya* dormers of the *phāṁsanā*.

The *adhiṣṭhāna* courses rise in the sequence *vajrakumbha* (?), *upāna*, *kumuda*, *kampa*, *kandhara*, *valabhī*, and *kapota* (fig. 4d). Except for slight changes it is very similar to that at Kadvār, though less high; the two buildings must be contemporaneous.

(2) Rājal-Vejal mātā Temple, Old Dhrevaḍ.

Junī Dhrevaḍ (or Dhrewār Junā: Lat. 22°, 9′; Long. 69°, 5′) lies in the same old Okhāmaṇḍala region of Saurāṣṭra as Dvārkā. It is a deserted village with two shrines: the larger, in an acacia thicket, is now dedicated to Kālikā mātā, and the other is sacred to the local deified saints Rājal and Vejal (plate 11).

The plain walls of this single-celled shrine are topped by a set of four mouldings, *valabhī*, *vājana*, *ūrdhvapadma*, and *kapota*. The *tribhūma phāṁsanā* has its three tiers embellished with *candraśālās* in the order of 3, 2, and 1. Unlike Visāvāḍā, these are discretely spaced, each being filled with a lotus in full bloom. The second tier is considerably smaller than the first; between the tiers both a *kaṇṭha* and a *vājana* are inserted. This treatment loses the compactness of the Visāvāḍā version. Above the *phāṁsanā* is a short *vedī* and a *grīvā*. The latter, curiously, holds a square cupola with the dormer motif on all sides, and a penthouse roof. In spite of these variations from Visāvaḍā the two are certainly close in time, since the basic forms of the roll cornice and of the *caitya*, dormers, are identical.

(3) Dhiṅgeśvara temple near Chāyā.

About two furlongs east of the soda-ash factory at Porbandar (Lat. 21°, 41.25′; Long. 69°, 38.75′) is located the old temple of Dhiṅgeśvara, rising from a marine rock formation. The building (not illustrated) is a simple square cell with a partially renovated porch. The plain walls are surmounted by a course of *valabhī* and *kapota*. The *phāṁsanā* consists of four tiers decorated by *candraśālās*; these last follow the unusual order 4, 4, 2, and 1. Above is a short *vedī* supporting a very small, archaic *āmalasāraka*. The profile of the *phāṁsanā* is unusually obtuse.

[110] This is similar to what one finds at Gop.

Śūrpodbhava Group:

Śuddha ("pure"), Type I (with plain tiers):

(1) Śiva temple, Boricā.

Boricā (or Boricha: Lat. 21°, 43.75′; Long. 69°, 40′) is a small village located some six miles north of Porbandar. On its south side, in the fields, stand the old Śiva temple, facing east, and another shrine facing north, dedicated to the Saptamātṛkās. In the village, near an old wall, lie the foundation courses of a *sāndhāra* temple which has otherwise disappeared, except for a renovated cella.

The Śiva temple was also originally a *sāndhāra* building with a closed hall, all laid out on a rectangular plan (Plate 12). At present nothing remains but a plain square cella with a *phāṁsanā* roof. The *triśākhā* doorway has lost its architrave, which has been replaced by a wood lintel. The jambs are carved with lotus leaves and *bakula-mālā* garlands.

Inside the cella a *liṅga* has been placed; it may not be original. The *garbhamuda* ceiling has disappeared, thus exposing the corbelled construction of the roof.

The pyramidal roof over the cella consists of four tiers: the top one decorated on all four sides with a central *candraśālā*. A now mutilated *āmalasāraka* supported by a *grīvā* tops the last tier. The general style of the roof, together with the form of *candraśālā*, suggest that this building may be the earliest of its sub-group.

(2) Sun temple, Kinderkheḍā.

The Sun temple is a *sāndhāra prāsāda* which is oblong on plan, exclusive of its *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* closed hall and the *mukhamaṇḍapa* porch (fig. 27a; plate 13). It faces east. The shrine walls are severely plain except for a blind grille fixed on either side of the closed hall. Both these grilles have the same design: three rows of full-blown lotus flowers, each of which is bordered by a beaded circle or semicircle (plate 65).[120] *Ratna* lozenges fill the intervals between the circles. The dwarf pillars of the *mukamaṇḍapa* are of the plain square order, Rucaka, with simple *taraṅga* roll brackets.

Inside, four large, free-standing square pillars support the hall roof. A pair of pilasters corresponding to the last ones are seen attached with the wall of the hall and that of the cella proper. Cousens stated erroneously that these pillars are without a base; in fact they have the *khumbikā* base found also in such buildings as the Varāha temple at Kadvār.

The cella is square and plain, and the doorway is simple. A stone table for offerings, *bali-pīṭha*, stands just in front of the doorway. It seems to be of later workmanship, for the lateral faces of its top slab are carved with three pairs of cocks, the stewards of the dawn, in addition to leaf decorations. These birds seem to indicate that the temple was dedicated to the Sun god, at least at a later period. In fact the cella does shelter defaced images of the Sun and his consort on a *pīṭhikā*, though these two may postdate the original dedication.

Since the slabs that formed the *garbhamuda* ceiling over the cella have disappeared, the underside of the corbelled superstructure is visible. The *mukhamaṇḍapa* has lost its roof. Over the cella rises a *phāṁsanā* in four diminishing tiers crowned by an *āmalasāraka*, the last only

[120] The same pattern is observable on a band on a pilaster near the east door of the Mukhaliṅgaṁ temple (see Barrett, D., *Heritage of Indian Art*, II, *Mukhalingam Temples*, Bombay, 1960, pl. 16). This building is datable to the early 8th century.

partially preserved. The long, sloping roof of the hall looks like a large pent-house roof covered by a flat *pidhāna phalaka*, and abuts the fronton of the cella spire. The ambulatory around the cella and the aisles of the hall are covered by long, sloping stone slabs laid like wooden planks. Those over the southern aisles have for the most part disappeared.

(3) Sonkaṁsārī temple no. 8, Ghumali.

Ghumali (or Gumali: Lat. 21°, 53′; Long. 69°, 46.75′), the ancient Bhūtāmbilikā or Bhūmilakā, was the capital of the Saindhavas and Jethavās. A short distance southeast of the city ruins, about 400 feet above ground level, stands a group of old temple buildings with a few very late funeral chapels and memorial stones; locally named, after a legendary lady, Sonkaṁsārī's temples.[121] There is a small, artificial, featureless tank alongside. The buildings are divided into two main groups, of which the three largest temples, nos. 1–3, in the west row face east. In the irregular, opposite row, two old temples, nos. 4 and 5, face west, while a late Solaṅki period shrine to Viṣṇu (no. 6), faces north. No. 7, a very small old temple, is still further to the east; and beyond it no. 8 is located in a thicket of babul trees, facing west.

With its closed hall it is oblong on plan (fig. 12a; plate 14). It has an *adhiṣṭhāna* base enriched by *upāna*, *kumuda*, and *kapota* courses. The walls are plain except for a small *vasantapaṭṭikā* band carved with plain leaves.

Above the cella is a *phaṁsanā* roof in seven tiers, here separated by a *gala* motif. The hall is surmounted by a *phaṁsanā* comprising four pent-house roof tiers, and topped by a *pidhāna phalaka*. As at Kinderkheḍā the height reached is one tier lower than that of the *phaṁsanā* over the cella; and the hall roof abuts the cella spire. The tiers on the fronton of the cella roof are decorated with *candraśālās*.

The interior is plain throughout. The beautiful corbelled construction over the hall is exposed to view, and was perhaps so from the beginning (plate 56).

(4) Añjanī mātā temple, Chāyā.

The old temple now called Añjanī mātā is situated some three miles east of Porbandar, south of the suburb Chāyā, in the neighborhood of a later Jāḍeśvara temple where a fair is held annually on Mahāśivarātri day. The monument in question is similar in plan and elevation to the Sun temple at Kinderkheḍā, except that it lacks a *mukhamaṇḍapa* and is in general both ill-proportioned and ruinous.

The doorway to the *guḍhamaṇḍapa* closed hall preserves a fragmentary *daṇḍachādya* (corrugated awning) above. Some of the Rucaka type interior pillars have *bhūta* or *kumāra* caryatid brackets. Unlike Kinderkheḍā, the northern and southern walls of the hall have pilasters at intervals.

The covering of the hall is lost, but that over the cella recalls the Kinderkheḍā Sun temple.

The shrine as a whole is 22 feet 2 inches wide and 33 feet 7 inches long, and faces east (not illustrated). Its original dedication is not known.

(5) Temple no. 3, Śrīnagara.

Śrīnagara (or Sirinagar: Lat. 69° 31.5′; Long. 21° 43.25′), traditionally held to have been the first capital of the Jethavā princes of Porbandar, is situated some 12 miles northwest of that

121 Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII.

city. About two furlongs east of the village there is an old group of four temples within an enclosure; and a little over a furlong to the west of the village is a large isolated shrine, now dedicated to Vindhyavāsinī. In the former group the oldest and largest, no. 1, said to be dedicated to Sūrya, faces east. No. 2, a small Saptamātṛkā shrine in front of it, is oriented to the north. A little distance away an old Śiva temple, no. 3, faces east. Alongside no. 1 is another Śiva temple, no. 4, of later date.

No. 3 is a *sāndhāra* building on a square plan. The roof over the ambulatory is flat. The stepped spire above the cella was originally of the Kinderkheḍā type, but like the building as a whole has been extensively restored.

(6) Khimeśvara temple no. 7.

The village of Kuchdī (or Kunchri: Long. 69° 33′; Lat. 21° 40.75′) is situated about 12 miles to the northwest of the town, by a road along the seashore. Something over a mile west of the village, within an old rubble enclosure, roughly some 125 feet square, stands a large and important group of monuments: seven temples, one *maṭha* monastery, with two old gate-houses on different axes, one on the east and the other on the west. The temples fall into two irregular rows: the first comprising nos. 7, 1, and 12, and the second nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6. Nos. 1 and 2 face west, the rest east. The monastery occupies the northeast sector of the compound.

Temple no. 7 consists of a plain, square cella and a porch (fig. 13,a; plate 15). The cella wall is crowned by a *kapota*, from which a *caturbhūma* spire springs. The four tiers diminish in height in a fixed ratio. Above the spire, over a low *grīvā* necking is a squat, square cupola with a large *mahānāsā* antefix at the center of each side. The culminating *stūpī* appears to be modern.

The porch is supported by Rucaka dwarf pillars and pilasters and a pair of free-standing pillars, all with *taraṅga* brackets. The door frame is plain.

(7) Sun temple, Pātā.

The village of Pātā (or Pāta: Long. 69° 56.5′; Lat. 21° 17.5′) lies about 33 miles southeast of Porbandar along the coast. On its west stands a group of temples, four of which are old. No. 1, now dedicated to Sūrya, is the oldest and largest; it faces east. Nearby rises a north-facing shrine to the Seven Mothers, no. 2, with nos. 3 and 4 to its south.

No. 1 rests on a low, featureless *upapīṭha*. It consists of a square cella and a larger square hall open in front.[122] The cella is undecorated except for a topping *kapota*. Three tiers of the spire are original, the rest recent. The *maṇḍapa* is supported by four Rucaka pillars. The aisles are covered with obliquely set stone planks. A heavy grille of simple chequer design relieves the northern and southern walls. The open front of the *maṇḍapa* shows archaic *vedikā* and *kakṣāsana;* its prominent roof is the penthouse type. A large, deep *candraśālā* graces its front just above the opening of the *maṇḍapa*.

(8) Temple no. 4, Oḍadar.

This temple, facing west, has lost its porch, leaving a series of sockets above the door (plate 16). The plain wall is topped by *vājana* and *kapota*. The *tribhūma* spire's three tiers diminish regularly in height, and are surmounted by a heavy, almost bell-shaped *āmalasāraka*.

[122] Cousens, *op. cit.*, pl. XCI.

(9) Chaleśvara temple near Mehvāsā.

This old temple perches on high ground, facing east, to the west of Mehvasa village (or Mewasa: Lat. 21° 54.50′; Long. 69° 49′). It consists of a plain cella with central offsets now obscured by a later coat of plaster (plate 17; fig. 11 c). The existing hall and porch may be later additions, perhaps following the original plan.

The top is surmounted by an *uttara* and a *kapota*. The spire has six tiers, progressively diminishing in such a way that the last also serves the function of a cupola. The *stūpī* above it is partly mutilated.

Śuddha type II (spire decorated with *candraśālās*):

(1) Temple no. 3, Bhāṇasarā.

Bhāṇasarā is a hamlet about a mile southeast of Baḷej, the latter being about 26 miles southeast of Porbandar. A group of six temples around a small well, all of the Maitraka period, stands on its north side.

Temple no. 3 faces north, a strange feature unknown to the Śiva cult in general. It has no basement. The walls are plain, topped by *uttara*, *ambuja*, and *kapota* mouldings.

The four tiers of the *caturbhūma phāṁsanā* are decorated with *candraśālās* in the order of 4, 3, 2, and 1 (plate 18). The loops joining the *candrasālās* are filled with lotuses, as are the *mahānāsā* antefixes on the top tier. The *phāṁsanā* is crowned by an archaic *āmalasāraka*. The *kalaśa* is missing.

(2) Sun temple, Jhamarā.

Jhamarā (or Jamla: Lat. 21° 29.5′; Long. 69° 54.25′) lies some 16 miles southeast of Porbandar in the alluvial plain of the Gheḍ area. The temple rises at the northwest corner of the village, facing east. On plan it is a *sāndhāra* building, comprising a cella with a walled ambulatory, and a closed hall with a semi-open façade (fig. 17, d). The ambulatory has long since collapsed. The dwarf pillars on the dado of the hall and the pair of pillars inside are the usual plain early type. The cella possesses one exceptional feature in that it incorporates the *vedibandha* in its wall mouldings; the *kaṭi*, however, is plain. Its top mouldings are the usual simulated rafters' ends, plus *ambuja* and *kapota*.

The four tiers of the *caturbhūma phāṁsanā* are enriched by *candraśālās* with the curious spacing 4, 2, 2, and 1. The archaic *āmalasāraka* above is crowned by a *cūlikā* and a modern *kalaśa*. The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has a flat roof.

The image of the Sun God inside is mutilated. The archaic *vedibandha*, the band of rafters' ends, the heavy *āmalasāraka*, and the bold *candraśālās* warrant assigning the building to the middle of the seventh century.

(3) Khimeśvara temple no. 3.

This building is at the northern end of the row of temples at Khimeśvara. It is bi-chambered, with a low *adhiṣṭhāna* comprising *vajrakumbha* (?), *vājana*, *kandhara*, *valabhī*, *kapota*, and *paṭṭikā* (fig. 4, g). The cella is as usual square and plain, and the large *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* is also square. The plain wall is topped by a short *uttara* and *kapota*. The *candraśālās* on the *tribhūma phāṁsanā* were

removed during a recent renovation. A heavy, small *āmalasāraka* forms the crown. The roof of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has collapsed.

Inside is enshrined a *liṅga* of uncertain age. In front of the shrine is a moulded *pīṭhikā* for Nandī (fig. 5 f), whose mutilated image lies nearby. On the evidence of the early type of *adhiṣṭhāna*, the building may be assigned to the first half of the seventh century.

(4) Piṭhaḍmātā temple, Baḷej.

Baḷej (or Balej: Lat. 21° 22′; Long. 69° 52.5′) is a large village situated some 26 miles southeast of Porbandar on the way to Madhavapur, and serves the Jains as a well known pilgrimage center. North of the sanctuary of Pārśvanātha stands a group of three old temples and one late Āditya *toraṇa*. The oldest is the shrine now dedicated to the local goddess Piṭhaḍmātā, which may originally have been for Śiva. A *sāndhāra* building, disfigured by a recent cement coating, it is very similar on plan to temple no. 5 at Bhāṇasarā, except that it has a *mukhamaṇḍapa* in addition to the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. The walls of the shrine proper and closed hall are plain, topped by a band of rafters' ends and an *uttara*, with a low parapet above. The *mukhamaṇḍapa* is semi-open; one of its dwarf pillars is carved.

The three *phāṁsanā* tiers have *candraśālās* spaced in the sequence 4, 3, and 2, containing lotus flowers. The upper members are lost. In one detail the superstructure suggests a *vimāna* of the Vimānākāra class: the tiers are separated by *uccheda* recessed bands, bearing *valabhī* and *kapota* mouldings.

Saṅghāṭa ("composite"). Type I (with plain tiers):

(1) Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple near Bokhirā.

Bokhirā (or Bokhira: Lat. 21° 39.25′; Long. 69° 36.50′) is situated some three miles north of Porbandar on the way to Khambhalia. This oblong temple, the only instance of the subvariety, is with its *mukhamaṇḍapa* 36 feet long and 20 feet 4 inches wide. It stands on a low *upapīṭha* without any *adhiṣṭhāna* (plate 20; fig. 27 b).

The walls of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* are featureless. The composite *phāṁsanā* of three principal tiers is crowned by modern additions. The ambulatory and halls are covered by a penthouse roof bearing discretely spaced *candraśālās*. The pillars of both the *mukhamaṇḍapa* and the closed hall are of the plain Rucaka order.

The building was originally dedicated to Śiva.

Saṅghāṭa Type II (spire with *latā* decoration):

(1) Sun temple, Pasnāvaḍā.

At the heart of Pasnāvaḍā village stands a bi-chambered temple to the Sun. There is no basement; the walls of the square cella are plain (fig. 17 c). The crowning mouldings are in the series *uttara*, *ambuja*, *kapota*. The spire is a composite *phāṁsanā* with four major tiers. On each of the four sides the central bay is decorated with a primitive *latā*. The top is marked by two successive, flat, step-like members crowned by a modern finial (plate 21).

The closed hall has a large *kapota* as a parapet above its flat roof. A perforated grille is found on either side of the low doorway of the closed hall. That on the right is occupied by a large

haṁsa goose. The pillars are of the complex type, the pilasters Rucaka. The images of the Sun and his consort are mutilated and covered with red lead.

A curious, small, four-faced structure stands in front of the closed hall, with a Sun god image on each side; perhaps it was used as a sun-dial.

(2) Temple of Jarḍeśvara, Rāṇāvāv.

Rāṇāvāv (or Ranawao: Lat. 21°41′: Long. 69°45.5′) is some 10 miles northeast of Porbandar. Southwest of the railway station is a group of three old temples, two of which have been thoroughly renovated. The third, on the west, still preserves some of its original elements. It was a *sāndhāra* building, but the front part of its closed hall has vanished. The cella is plain and square.

The *phāṁsanā* consists of four main tiers, and is decorated with a *latā* along the central bays. At the top of the spire are five steps, square in plan, crowned by a *dhvajādhāra* and a peculiar *kalaśa* with a fluted lower half (plate 23). The advanced form of the *latā* suggests a slightly later date than that of the preceding monument.

(3) Suvaraṇatīrtha temple near Dvārkā.

This building, one of the larger in the area, is located some 5 miles northeast of Dvārkā. It rests on a *jagatī* showing *kuḍyastambha* pilasters in low relief (plate 22), and surmounted by a dwarf parapet with water-spouts.

The building is *sāndhāra* with a *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front. The featureless walls are relieved by *vātāyana* ventilators and topped by a band of simulated rafters' ends. Above is another low parapet with water-spouts and corner *karṇakūṭas* as on the *jagatī*. The *mukhamaṇḍapa* has Rucaka pillars and is open on north and south (fig. 24, b). The cella doorway has flying *mālādhara* (garland-bearing) figures on the jambs.

The *navabhūma phāṁsanā* is decorated with *madhyālatā*, like the preceding two examples. Its form falls midway between the Kinderkheḍā Sun temple and the Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple near Bokhirā. The crowning members are a *candrikā*, an *āmalasārakā*, and a *kalaśa*. The advanced design of the *latā* suggests that the temple belongs close in time to the Rāṇāvāv example.

The total length is 46 feet 4 inches, and the width 25 feet 4 inches.

(4) Sonkaṁsāri temple no. 4, Ghumali.

This is a mono-celled shrine facing west in the major group on the hill. The *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings are only partially visible. The plain walls have *valabhī*, *ambuja*, and *kapota* mouldings at the top.

The *saḍabhūma phāṁsanā* is crowned by a heavy *āmalasāraka*. The *caitya*-like dormers of the central spine are more advanced than in the Dvārkā example. This together with the curvature of the spire would make it contemporary with the earliest Nāgara monuments to be discussed below, in the early eighth century (plate 24).

Pseudo-Drāviḍic:

(1) Temple no. 2, Bhāṇasarā.

Along with no. 1 this building stands to the west of the village well facing east. It has lost its original porch and a new one has been recently built to serve both it and no. 1. The lowermost mouldings of its original *adhiṣṭhāna* are embedded in the debris; those visible are in the sequence *kandhara*, *kumuda*, and *śūrpa* at top. The featureless cella wall is crowned by a band of rafters' ends and a *kapota*.

The spire has a *tritala prastara*, triple entablature, whose tiers are decorated with *candraśālās* in the order of 3, 2, and 1; these have boldly executed, inset lotus blossoms of the type seen in the grilles at Kadvār. The first tier possesses *karṇakūṭas*, each one of which has the form of a twostoreyed *vimāna* aedicule. The recess between the first and second tiers shows a band of rafters' ends. The building's crowning member is lost.

Notwithstanding a recent coating with cement, the temple looks quite archaic and may be as old as that at Kadvār.

(2) Temple no. 5, Bhāṇasarā.

Northeast of the well, this is the largest building of the group. It is a *sāndhāra* structure with an oblong *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, facing west (plate 26; fig. 149).

The *adhiṣṭhāna* is relatively simple. The shrine wall is plain, topped as usual by *valabhī* and *kapota* mouldings. The ambulatory is covered by a large, single *śūrpa*.

The spire above the cella has a triple entablature somewhat different from that of Temple no. 1: primarily in the provision of a *vimāna vedikā* below the spire, and a somewhat taller *uccheda* between the first and second tiers. Again the *candraśālās* (or *nāsikās*) are in the order of 3, 2, and 1. The *nāsikā* on the top tier might as well be called a *mahānāsī*. Only the first tier has *karṇakūṭas* (fig. 10).

The building is surmounted by an octagonal cupola (fig. 10k) above a short *grīvā*, the only example so far known in Gujarat, and indeed in all of Western India. It is partly broken, and the *stūpikā* is lost; enough remains to show that the original had neither the elegance nor the good proportions of the cupolas over the Arjuna or Dharmarāja *rathas* at Mahābalipuram in Pallava territory.

The cella interior is perfectly plain, with a very narrow amulatory about 1 foot 10 inches wide. A square, moulded *pīṭhikā*, the base for a *liṅga*, stands against the east wall; unlike mediaeval practise, it is not centered. The inner walls of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* are relieved by plain pilasters of the Rucaka order. The roof of the closed hall is flat, and the ceiling has the construction seen at Kadvār.

The temple seems to be a close contemporary of its neighbor no. 1. The form of its cupola lacks the archaism of the dome-like examples over the Makūṭeśvara[123] and Malegitti Śivālaya[124] in the Karṇāṭa territory. These last may be dated around 625. On the other hand the analo-

[123] Kramrisch, Stella, *The Art of India*, New York, 1954, fig. 57; also Louis-Frédéric, *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, New York, 1960, fig. 190.

[124] Cousens, *Chālukyan Architecture*, pl. XXIX.

gous Pallava cupolas at Mahābalipuram are slightly more advanced. Since the approximate date of the two *rathas* involved there is the second half of the seventh century, corresponding to the reign of Pallava Nṛsiṁhavarmana, the Bhāṇasarā monument should fall between these two extremes. The cupola parallels just cited are of course geographically too remote to be given full weight; but comparisons within the Gujarat group also seem to favor the same general period, the earlier seventh century.

(3) Temple no. 6, Bhāṇasarā.

This is a single-celled shrine that faces no. 5, too dilapidated for detailed analysis. The partially preserved bottom tier of the superstructure reveals the use of *karṇakūṭas*.

(4) Old Temple, Kaḷsār.

Kaḷsār (or Kalsār: Lat. 21° 5.50′; Long. 71° 54.25′) is situated on the southeastern seacoast of Saurashtra, being accessible by a road from the Longdi railway station on the Bhavnagar-Talaja-Mahuva line. The Old Temple, known locally as Vasīnuṁ Deruṁ or Firaṅgī Devaḷa, is within the village in a cluster of houses.

The shrine proper is slightly oblong in plan, with a smaller closed hall (fig. 12b). The building rises from a plain *upapīṭha*. The walls also are plain, except for the usual band of stylized rafters' ends and a minor *kapota* at the top.

The superstructure above the cella is *tritala* three-tiered, with *karṇakūṭas* on all three tiers, in the order of 4, 3, and 2. The now lost crowning member may have been a *śālā śikhara*.

The closed hall also has a *vimāna* superstructure, with one less tier, let into the fronton of the *vimāna* over the cella. The crowning member here is a large *śūrpa*, with a prominent *candraśalā* on the fronton (plate 27).

The *karṇakūṭas* used to enrich the tiers of the *vimānas* over both cella and closed hall are three-tiered, but unlike the versions on other temples of this class are not decorated with *caitya* dormers.

Shri Ravishankar Raval suggested that this building was originally Buddhist, apparently on the basis of the *caitya* dormers on the tiers of the *vimānas*.[125] However this decorative feature is not solely emblematic of Buddhism, having been used at least from the Gupta period on by all the three Indian creeds. The Kalṣār temple could quite as well have been a Brahmanical shrine, as a number of parallel examples suggest.

(5) Khimeśvara temple no. 1.

This is the largest and principal shrine of its now desolate group. Its construction is locally ascribed to a Jethvā prince of Porbandar, Rāṇā Khimājī, who flourished in the seventeenth century. It is possible that an inscription on one of the pillars of the gate-house referred to restoration by him;[126] but the monument itself is old.

It is an oblong *sāndhāra* temple with *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and *mukhamaṇḍapa*, the latter being distyle in antis (fig. 26,a). The *adhiṣṭhāna* is featureless and recently renovated. The plain walls

[125] Raval, Ravishankar, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[126] We owe this information to Shri Karsanjibhai of Porbandar, who has visited the temple frequently to offer worship.

of the building are relieved by ventilators filled with grilles, one on the south wall displaying lotus flowers (plate 66) and two on the northern wall showing a chequer pattern (plate 67) and a diamond design respectively, are original. At the top of the wall are seen: (a) the band of rafters' ends, *urdhvapadma*, decorated with lotus leaves; and (b) a large *kapota*, enriched with grooved *candraśālā* at the corners and a bisected *sūrasenaka* in the center along the west façade. On the same façade is also found, at each corner, a *karṇakūṭa* which has lost its superstructure. A low parapet formed by a large *śūrpa* protects the flat roof of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, and the ambulatory.

The quadruple tiers, *catustala prastara*, of the superstructure are decorated by grooved *candraśālās* in the order of 4, 3, 2, and 1 (plate 28). A variety of lotus flowers is seen inside the *candraśālās* of the southern face. On the last tier *karṇakūṭas* are lacking (fig. 31). Above, on a short *grīvā*, is placed a small, archaic, but well proportioned *āmalasāraka*. The finial may not be old.

The pillars of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* are of the usual Rucaka order. Inside the hall, however, the free-standing columns are square below and octagonal above. Being only about 7′ 6″ high they are too stunted for the scale of the building. The doorway is plain save for a band with eroded figures on the top. The *udumbara*, door-sill, shows a round *mandāraka* in the centre, flanked on either side by a very bold *kīrttīmukha*. This is the single example of this type, which is absent in the pre-Solaṅkī period temples but reappears in the Solaṅkī temples from the early eleventh century onward.

The *antarabhitti* of the cella is decorated with *bittistambhas* (fig. 8a). Inside is enshrined the liṅga, which may be old. In front of the temple stands a square, moulded *pīṭhikā* (fig. 5c) for Nandī, whose mutilated image lies some distance away.

(6) Khimeśvara Temple no. 2.

To the north of the building described above stands a smaller *sāndhāra* temple, facing west, with an almost square plan (fig. 14b), measuring 22′ 6″ by 19′ 10″. Featureless walls rise on a plain *adhiṣṭhāna*. The superstructure is almost a duplicate of the last described, slightly smaller and less finished. Here also the cella is relieved with wall pilasters (fig. 8d). Inside the *garbhagṛha* is a *pīṭhikā* that holds a *liṅga*, which may not be old.

(7) Khimeśvara Temple no. 5.

This bi-chambered *nirandhāra* temple rises to the west of Temple no. 1 in the opposite row, facing west (fig. 12c). The moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* sequence consists of *upāna*, *vājana*, wide *kandhara*, *uttara* with rafters' ends, and a broad *paṭṭika*. The plain, square walls of the cella show a band of "rafters' ends" and a *kapota*.

The superstructure with its triple entablature has *nāsikās* in the order of 3, 2, and 1. The *karṇakūṭas* have a single-tier superstructure, and are limited to the lower two tiers only. Above the *vimāna* is a square, plain, step-like *phalakā* followed by three circular ones and a modern *stūpī*.

The façade of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* is remarkable in having a plain doorway flanked by two large niches with crowning *phāṁsanā* (plate 57). Inside the hall in the southwest and northwest corners are affixed the lower portions of a decorated *karṇakūṭa* which may originally have been connected

with Temple no. 1 at the same site (fig. 8c). The vegetal pattern strongly recalls a similar one found on buildings of the Paraśurāmeśvara group at Bhubaneshwar in Orissa.[127]

The shrine is said, without proof, to be dedicated to the Sun God.

(8) Old Temple, Miyāṇī.

Miyāṇī (or Miāni: Lat. 21° 50.25′; Long. 69° 23′) is situated about 23 miles northwest of Porbandar, up the mouth of a wide creek. Outside the fortified village are five small, old temple buildings with Nāgara *śikharas* in various stages of preservation. Inside the village are two handsome Solaṅkī period temples of the thirteenth century. On the other side of the creek several interesting shrines are located on a picturesque hillock, Koylā Ḍuṅgar. That of Harasiddha was originally in the pre-Solaṅkī style, but has been completely renovated. The Śiva temple on the crest is in the Solaṅkī style of the thirteenth century. The building that falls in the class now under discussion is a small, mono-celled, pre-Solaṅkī shrine found on the righthand slope as one mounts the hillock.

The plain cube of the building is topped by a band of "rafters' ends" and a *kapota*. The triple-tiered superstructure is enriched by *nāsikās* in the order of 3, 2, and 1. *Karṇakūṭas* of the single-tiered type are observable at the corners of the lower two tiers.[128] The crowning *āmalasāraka* has fallen off on the north side.

(9) Bileśvara Temple, Bileśvara.

Bileśvara (or Bileshwār: Lat. 21° 46.75′; Long. 69° 47.50′) is a hamlet located some 16 miles northeast of Porbandar in the Barada hills. Its old temple perches above the gorge of the River Bilvagaṅgā: the largest building of the Vimānākāra class, and one of the holiest in the area.

This *sāndhāra* temple with its very wider ambulatory is almost square in plan (plate 26; fig. 15). The *adhiṣṭhāna* has the same sequence of mouldings as the Kadvār temple, half again as large in scale (fig. 4b). The high exterior walls are relieved by pilasters of the type seen in the Khimeśvara Temples nos. 1 and 2; and are crowned by the usual *valabhī* and *kapota* mouldings. The lofty superstructure rises from a plain *vimāna vedikā;* the six tiers are enriched with *nāsikās* in the order of 6, 5, 4, 3, and 2, the topmost being plain.[129] On the east side alone is a large, shallowly projecting *śūrasenaka*, counting as an incipient *śukanāsa*. The *karṇakūṭa* types on the piers reveal interesting variations (plate 30; figs. 10, a, b, d, and f). On the fourth tier is an octagonal cupola form reminiscent of Dravidian temples (fig. 10f). The form on the fifth tier and the one flanking the *śūrasenaka* is circular, crowned by a bold *āmalasāraka* (plate 29).

The top of the *vimāna* shows a square *phalaka*, a circular *candrikā*, followed by a *cūlikā* and a modern *stūpī*. The figures inset in the *śūrasenaka* are all recent. The portion above the *kapota* of the external wall of the shrine is an eighteenth century addition.

The interior walls of the square cella show the same shallow pilaster decoration as on the outside. The mutilated *liṅga* is very large, and a bit amorphous. The older doorway has been replaced by a modern one studded with vulgar tiles. On a late stylobate constructed opposite the temple is seen a seated late figure of Nandī.

S. K. Saraswati has commented on the date of this temple as follows: "The temple of Śiva at

[127] *Designs from Orissan Temples*, pl. 1.
[128] "The Struggle for Empire", pl. XII, fig. 45.
[129] Cousens, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX.

Villeśvara[130] represents, perhaps, the latest development of the type. It is also the most perfectly preserved temple of the group and hence enables us to understand the composition and design of the type in a more convincing manner...[131] From the increased number of step stages —the largest among the temples of the group—the refined pyramidal contour and the shape and design of the ornamental arches and finials, the temple may be considered to be the latest at least in point of style, among the temples of the Gop type. The pilasters on the exterior walls of the ambulatory resemble in a general way the pillars in the Elephanta cave, and it would not be unreasonable, perhaps, to refer it to the same period as that of Elephanta."[132]

The temple is undoubtedly the grandest of all extant Maitraka monuments, and looks impressive even from a distance. The increased number of *talas*, however, is not a criterion of lateness, especially when the components of each tier are not the later types. Unlike the *phāṁsanās*, where horizontal triumphs over vertical, the Vimāna mode has an inherent capacity to rise to monumental heights: as for example in the Pallava school's wonderful Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram.

The inner sanctum of the Bileśvara building reaches 22′, as against Khimeśvara Temple no. 1 (12′ 4″), Sonkansārī Temple no. 1 (18′ 3″), the Sun Temple at Srīnagar (15′), etc. A superstructure of the Vimāna type, with its multiple tiers or entablatures, naturally is made loftier if it rests on a very wide base, for the sake of good proportions; and as a result it is necessary to superimpose a greater number of tiers.

In addition, the wall pilasters at Bileśvara are not analogous to the order seen at Elephanta. Instead, they look like simplified versions of the pillars in the sixth and seventh century caves at Ajaṇṭa. The miniature pillars seen in the *śukanāsa* (plate 30) resemble vaguely to the Elephanta variety, including its scalloped bracket. But since this general type was available from about 578 on (the date of Badami Cave III) to the eighth century caves at Ellora, the point cannot be pressed too much.

The stylistic factors that help in determining the building's probable date are first the strong correspondence of its socle with that of the Kadvār temple; and then the general similarity of the *vimāna* to that of the Rajivalocana temple at Rajim, datable to the late sixth or early seventh century on the strength of its sculptures and other architectural details;[133] the latter again being close kin to those of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur in the same province. Under the circumstances the beginning of the seventh century seems a quite plausible date for Bileśvara, on the basis of presently known evidence.

(10) Sonkaṁsārī Temple no. 1.

This is the oldest and largest monument in the village, and stands at the extreme left of the row of three temples facing east. Since its western and northern sides are partially on a rocky slope, an *upapīṭha* of uneven height, following the gradient, has been provided.

The building is a large *sāndhāra* example on an oblong plan (fig. 25). The roofs of the closed hall and ambulatory have collapsed, and the hall pillars have disappeared. The exterior wall is

[130] Saraswati's "Villeśvara" is Bileśvara or Bilanātha.
[131] Saraswati, S.K., *op. cit.*, p. 585.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 586.
[133] Dikshit, *Sirpur and Rajim*, pl. 83. The upper tiers of the *vimāna* here, however, fluctuate between the Nāgara and the Pseudo-Drāviḍian modes. The *āmalasāraka* belongs to the later Haihaya period.

also sadly ruinous. The building has no basement proper. Curiously, the lower portion of the external wall shows basement mouldings that incline more to the Nāgara style and to the Pseudo-Drāviḍian, or at least indicate a transition between the two. The sequence begins with *khuraka*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, and *kapotapālikā*; then come a *kandhara* (too broad to be called the *antarapatra* of Nāgara terminology), an *ūrdhvapadma* with lotus leaves, and a *kapota* enriched at intervals with ornate *candraśālās* (fig. 5 a).

Pierced in the *kaṭi* are large windows, once possibly filled with grilles: two in the rear wall, one each in the north and south walls of the ambulatory, and six in the closed hall. In addition there are three ornate, deep niches in the *kaṭi*, one in the centre of the west wall and one each in the middle of the north and south walls. Each niche has its own decorative format. That on the south simulates a shrine door, and the west one is somewhat similar. The northern one, however, is a cross-section of a miniature *mukhamaṇḍapa* with pilasters bearing a *makara toraṇa*. The other two niches are fairly plain; this is gorgeously embellished (plate 58). Above it is a *grāsapaṭṭikā* followed by a festoon of *gagārakas*; then an *ūrdhvapadma* decorated with lotus petals, and a large pediment formed by a complex *śūrasenaka*, which shelters a fine, small image of Kubera. The *kapota* below the niche shows, in lieu of the normal *candraśālā*, a *śūrasenaka* where another seated Kubera is found, this one mutilated.

The square cella, now open to view, has lost its original door, and the masonry thereabouts has been dislocated. The plain walls show holes slightly more than half way up, which perhaps once held lamps to illumine the ambulatory. The crowning cella mouldings are an *uttara* enriched with flat triangles, an *ūrdhvapadma* with lotus leaves, and a *kapota* with ornate *candraśālās* at intervals. There were engaged pillars along the corners of the cella walls, corresponding to those in the ambulatory.

The five-tiered superstructure above the cella is decorated with plain *candraśālās* in the sequence of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1: three-tier *karṇakūṭas* being also present except in the topmost entablature. There is a crowning *āmalasāraka*. On the fronton is seen a large *śūrasenaka* implying a *śukanāsa*, less emphatic than the version at Bileśvara.

Inside the cella there are two featureless small niches in the east wall and four slits in the north wall, possibly for storing small articles. The cella is now vacant, and there is nothing present in the temple to identify its dedication. Since about eight images of Viṣṇu, stylistically datable to the seventh, eighth, or ninth centuries have been recovered from the area, it may be conjectured that most of the shrines in the group were sacred to that god.

Since the *vedibandha* mouldings are not carried across the eastern wall, it is very likely that a *mukhamaṇḍapa* was originally attached there; but the evidence is not quite conclusive.

The building is certainly later than the temples of the Bileśvara phase, to judge by the advanced type of the *vedibandha* mouldings, the complex *candraśālās* and *śūrasenakas*, the late features of the Kubera image, and the tendency toward elegance in the rich details of the superstructure. By comparison with the temples of the next series to be discussed below, the date cannot be earlier than the third quarter of the seventh century.

The overall length of the building is 58′ 7″ and the width is 36′ 8″, making it one of the largest among the pre-Solaṅkī temples of the region.

Neo-Drāviḍic:

(1) Sun Temple, Śrīnagara.

The group of shrines here includes the remains of an old Sun Temple; originally a fairly large structure, since its oblong plan measures 26 by 50 feet. The mouldings of the *adiṣṭhāna* (fig. 41) comprise: *upāna*, *kumuda*, *śurpa*, minor *vājana*, wide *kandhara*, a band of "rafters' ends", *padma-vājana*, and *paṭṭikā*.

The walls of the ambulatory and closed hall have disappeared, together with the pillars. The square cella is about 15 feet on a side. As usual, the plain walls are topped by a band of bold "rafters' ends" and a *kapota*.

The four-tiered superstructure is decorated with very large *candraśālās* in the order of 3, 2, and 1, the final tier being plain. The *karṇakūṭas* are more schematised than those of the preceding series, and are topped by a ballshaped, multi-ribbed *āmalaka*. The whole superstructure is crowned by a bold *āmalasāraka*, a fluted *ghaṇṭā*, and a *stūpī*.

The moon-stone, *ardhacandra*, at the door-sill is delicately carved with a half lotus. The sill shows on its front standing figures, indented diamonds, etc. Inside the cella are fragments of late Sūrya and Viṣṇu images, a *daśāvatāra parikara*, etc. The temple was carefully restored when a portico (not illustrated) was added to the cella.

(2) Vindhyavāsinī Temple, Śrīnagara.

To the west of the village stands a temple similar to the last noted one, originally Śivaite but now rededicated to Vindhyavāsinī, the patron goddess of the Jethavās. The building is fairly large, measuring 42′ by 25′ 4″. The *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings follow the sequence *padma* with *upāna*, *kumuda*, *kṣepaṇa*, *vājana*, *kandhara*, *valabhī*, *uttara*, *kapota*, another *kṣepaṇa*, and *paṭṭikā*.

As in the case of Khimeśvara Temple no. 1, there is a *mukhamaṇḍapa* distylar in antis. The rows of engaged pillars are more numerous and are incongruently set out in relation to the central ones. The *udumbara* of the cella shows a pair of bold *kīrttimukhas* and a *mandāraka*, as at Khimeśvara (that group being about three miles away to the southeast).

The walls of the ambulatory and the superstructure above the cella have been reconstructed after the original pattern, which must have been similar to the Sun Temple's. The building faces west (not illustrated).

(3) Old Temple, Piṇḍārā.

Piṇḍārā (or Pindāra: Lat. 22° 14.75′: Long. 69° 16′) is situated some eleven miles east of Dvārkā in the older Okhāmaṇḍala area of Saurāṣṭra. The old shrine (plate 33) has lost its *maṇḍapa*; it may have followed the *sāndhāra* layout, but if so the exterior walls have long since disappeared.

Above the plain walls of the square cella rises a four-tiered superstructure, from a *vimāna-vedikā* base. An original fifth tier has been destroyed. The remaining tiers are enriched with *candraśālās* in the sequence of 5, 4, 3, and 2; and at the corners the normal *karṇakūṭas* are seen.

(4) Kālikā mātā Temple, Old Dhrevaḍ.

This is the second of the two old monuments in the vicinity of the village. The building, *sāndhāra* in type, has an *adhiṣṭhāna* exposed to view at places only. The mouldings are: a large

padma on the way to becoming a *kumbha* of the Nāgara class; a *kumuda*, too large to be called a *kalaśa; vājana, kandhara, uttara* with "rafters' ends", *ūrdhvapadma, kapota*, and *paṭṭikā* (fig. 5 b).

The plain walls of the square cella are topped by an *ūrdhvapadma* with the dog-tongue motif, and a *kapota*. The five-tiered superstructure is embellished with *candraśālās* in the order of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, the last being flanked by half dormers. An *āmalasāraka* and a *kalaśa* of uncertain age are the crowning features (plate 34).

The walls of the closed hall are plain except for a window at the centre of each lateral wall, with a *daṇḍachādya* or corrugated hood and a large *śurasenaka* above. At the top of the walls run a band of "rafters' ends" and a large *kapota*.

The *mukhamaṇḍapa* appears later than the rest. The closed hall has four Bhadraka pillars at its centre. The plain cella is now vacant.

(5) Cāmuṇḍā Temple, Degām.

Degām (or Degam: Lat. 21° 42'; Long. 69° 36') is situated about four miles north of Porbandar on the way to Khambalia. The old shrine has been enclosed by recent additions, but its plan is still discernible (fig. 19a). The building is bi-chambered and faces east. The plain walls of the cella are as usual topped by a band of "rafters' ends" and a *kapota*. Above is a *kaṇṭha* recess on which the superstructure rises (plate 35). The three lower tiers are original; the upper two may be recent. The original portion is embellished with discretely placed *candraśālās*, and has simple *karṇakūṭas* of the Dhrāsaṇvel type. The original *āmalasāraka* has been reused in combination with a later *āmalasārika* and a *kalaśa*.

(6) Temple no. 4, Bhaṇasarā.

The temple stands on the east edge of the *kuṇḍa* in this ensemble, facing west. It is a mono-celled shrine. Above the plain walls of the square cella are found the customary band of "rafters' ends" and a *kapota*. The *catustala* superstructure has tiers decorated with *candraśālās* in the order of 5, 4, 3, and 2. An archaic *amalasāraka* tops it. The *karṇakūṭas* have degenerated into *karṇāṇḍakas*. The age of the *kalaśa* cannot be guessed.

ŚIKHARĀNVITA

Proto-Nāgara Group:

(1) Temple no. 1, Bhāṇasarā.

This building stands to the north of Temple no. 2, to the north, facing east. Its low *adhiṣṭhāna* is in the sequence *upāna, kumuda, vājana, uttara, kapota, kṣepaṇa*, and *paṭṭikā*. The plain walls are topped by an *uttara* and a *kapota*. The spire type is midway between the Vimāna and Nāgara stages (plate 37). The *candraśālās*, though discrete, are thin and do not diminish in size, but tend to coalesce from tier to tier; thus forming a prototypal *jāla* with *latā* in the center. The top tier is damaged; and the original crowning members have disappeared.

Eo-Nāgara Group:

Type I with pyramidal *śikhara:*

(1) Sun temple, Sūtrāpāḍā.

At Sūtrāpāḍā (or Sūtrāpārā: Lat. 20° 50.75': Long. 70° 29'), situated some eleven miles east by road from Prabhas Patan, we meet the first true—though still archaic—Nāgara monument in this region. The Sun temple's oblong *sāndhāra* shrine, with its Rucaka pillars and plain walls, needs no comment (fig. 23a); but the *śikhara* deserves a careful study.

It represents a stage just following the one illustrated by Temple no. 1 at Bhāṇasarā. The integration of the *jāla* has advanced further. The *karṇāṇḍakas* are now integrated and so form the *bhūmi-āmalaka* motif. The tiers are less emphatic; nevertheless the *śikhara* still retains the pyramidal form and the *śūrpa-skandha* of the *phāṁsākāra* spires. The massive *āmalasāraka* and the circular step above it are original.

The roof of the hall is composed of laminated slabs; bosses originally intended for carving *candraśālās* have been left unfinished.

The temple faces east and measures 31 feet by 20 feet 10 inches.

As for the date, it is certainly later than the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur (last quarter of the sixth century), as the form of the *śikhara* indicates. At the same time it is more archaic than the Nāgara temples at Roda in North Gujarat; and is even less developed than some of those at Alampur (first half of the eighth century). Its mean date may therefore be ca. A.D. 700.

(2) Koṭeśvara temple, Kālāvaḍ.

Kālāvaḍ (or Kalawar: Lat. 21° 53.50'; Long. 69° 27') is about eight miles northeast of Bhanwar. The building has lost its original *maṇḍapa*. The walls of the square cella are heavily cut horizontally into a series of mouldings that suggests a transition between the Vimāna and Nāgara practises. They are in the order *upāna*, *padma*, *kṣepaṇa*, *kumuda*, *kṣepaṇa* again, *śūrpa*, *vājana*, *kṣepaṇa* again, *ūrdhvapadma*, *paṭṭikā*, *vājana* again, *kandhara*, *uttara*, *ūrdhvapadma* again, *kapota*, *kṣepaṇa* again, *paṭṭikā* again, *pāda*, *uttara* again, and *kampa* (fig. 6). The upper *paṭṭikā* is embellished with *candraśālās*, topped by the profile of the crowning courses of a miniature spire, including *skandha*, *grīvā*, *āmalasāraka*, and *kalaśa*.

This rudimentary Nāgara *śikhara* is pyramidal and still carries the impress of the *vimāna* group. The *āmalasāraka* is massive; and the *caitya* dormers of the *jāla* are still archaic.

In view of its retention of some mouldings of earlier types and its slightly more archaic *śikhara*, this Koteśvara temple may be a little earlier than that at Sūtrāpāḍā.

Type II with curvilinear *śikhara:*

(1) Sun temple, Akhodar.

Akhodar (Lat. 21° 20.25'; Long. 70° 7.50') is about 24 miles southeast of Junagaḍh. The old Sun temple within the village is very similar in plan to the Sūtrāpāḍā building but is larger, being 40 feet 7 inches by 23 feet 4 inches.

The plain walls are topped by a sequence of *uttara*, *ūrdhvapadma*, *kapota*, *vājana*, *kaṇṭha*, and finally a larger *kapota;* this last forms a parapet punctuated by five *candraśālās* on the north and

south, and by three on the west (plate 40). On the north and west some *candraśālās* retain figural sculpture. Divine or demonic heads flank one of the dormers on the north side (plate 60). Similar heads flank a *candraśālā* on the west; in addition the latter encloses a pair of confronting *bhūta* heads from whose mouths a *toraṇa* springs.

The roofs of the *maṇḍapa* and ambulatory are flat. Over the cella is a moulded *vimāna-vedikā* reminiscent of the *jagatī* of the Gop temple (fig. 5 d). The *jāla* of the *śikhara* is very bold; the central spine recalls a similar feature at Bhubaneshwar, on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. The bold *āmalasāraka* is crowned by a *candrikā* and a late type of *kalaśa*.

The interior Rucaka pillars are rather stunted. The images are mutilated. In date the building may be a little earlier than the Sūtrāpāḍā temple, i. e. late seventh century.

(2) Sun temple, Pāchtar.

Pāchtar (Lat. 21° 52′; Long. 69° 46.75′) is about five miles northwest of Ghumali. Of its two old temples the earlier—a Sun temple known locally as Sadevanta-Śāvaḷiṅgā's temple—is about a mile northeast of the village. Originally it was a *sāndhāra* building, but both ambulatory and *maṇḍapa* have vanished (plate 41). The Sun image once enshrined within has been transferred to the Jamnagar Museum.

The doorway of the plain square cella is relatively simple. The curvilinear *śikhara* shows the curious feature of a *madhyālatā* divided into two spines. The advanced designs of the *bhūmi-āmalakas* and the *caitya* dormers suggest a date later than that of Sūtrāpāḍā, i.e. not earlier than the first half of the eighth century.

Early Nāgara Group:

Single-spired, *latina*, with lattice-work *(sa-jāla):*

(1) Magaḍeruṁ at Dhrāsaṇavel.

Dhrāsaṇavel (or Dhrāsanvel: Lat. 22° 17.25′; Long. 69° 2.50′) is some three miles northeast of Dvārkā. The old *saptāyatana* temple comprises a complex of six smaller shrines around a central, larger one, the whole standing on a low *jagatī* (fig. 32). This unusual multiple plan may be thought of in two ways: either as an amplification of the five-part, *pañcayātana* category (with one more chapel added axially to the main shrine on the east, and another on the south); or as a diminished, eight-part, *aṣṭāyaytana* scheme, with the eighth shrine replaced by the flight of steps that provides access on the north. The ruins of an enclosing wall that once connected the chapels may be seen above the *jagatī;* the latter is buttressed on the north and south.

The main shrine is *pañcaratha* or five-fold in plan, being the earliest known in the region. It has an archaic *vedibandha* and a relatively plain *maṇḍovara* (plate 42). The *śikhara* is in ruins, as are the *śukanāsa* and the *maṇḍapa;* the latter's Bhadraka pillars with their lintels are still standing.

The rectangular, north-facing chapel once housed the Saptamātṛkās; the *pīṭhikā* is still in position (fig. 7a). As in the main shrine all the chapels are recessed. The doorway of the main shrine is plain. The eastern shrine was perhaps meant for Nandī.

The prefix "Maga" in the temple's name reminds us of the Maga Brahmins, or Magi, the worshippers of the Sun who migrated from Iran into Western India. This might tempt one to imagine the temple as sacred to Sūrya, but it may have belonged to Śiva as well. As for its date,

the *jāla* on the *śikhara* of the main shrine is slightly more advanced than that on the Sūtrāpādā temple, but less elaborate than the ones on the temples at Roḍā attributable to the last quarter of the eighth century. Under the circumstances the building may be placed at the middle of the eighth century.

For the *pīṭha* of chapels 5, 2, and 3 see Figs. 7b, c, and d respectively.

(2) Temple alongside the Bileśvara temple.

Just to the north of the Bileśvara temple stands a square cell with a Nāgara *śikhara*, the upper half of which has disappeared. The *jāla* type used is similar to that observable on the principle shrine at Magaḍeruṁ; hence both should be of approximately the same date (not illustrated).

(3) Temple no. 2, Miyāṇī.

About a furlong to the southwest stands this fine *latina* building on a featureless, low *jagatī*. It has a porch and faces east (plate 44). The *vedibandha* of the cella is less heavy than the one at Magaḍeruṁ. The *maṇḍovara* is relieved by a plain medial band and three niches with *udgama* (pediment), now vacant. Above the *varaṇḍikā* and a *kaṇṭha* showing a simple diamond pattern, rises the *latina śikhara*.

The *śikhara* is beautifully proportioned, with a well webbed *jāla* pattern that is more advanced than the last noted two examples. The *āmalasāraka* is original; the *kalaśa* has disappeared.

The simple porch uses a double pair of dwarf pillars. The ceiling is plain; the porch roof is gone. The temple is said to be sacred to Gaṇeśa, but originally belonged to Śiva.[135]

(4) Gaṇeśa ḍeruṁ, Ghumali.

On the south side of the grand Navalakha temple stands a *latina* building with a square cella and a śikhara. Originally it was a *sāndhāra* temple, but its ambulatory as well as the closed hall have long since disappeared. The *jāla* work on the *śikhara* reveals a slight advance over the Miyāṇī example, and must follow it in sequence.[136]

(5) Nandeśvara Temple no. 4.

About a mile northeast of the Camuṇḍā mātā temple near Bokhirā, already described, rises a group of six old cult buildings. Nos. 1 and 2 stand side by side, facing east. The first, were it not so badly disfigured by renovation, might have been discussed under the Proto-Nāgara group. No. 2, dedicated to Nandeśvara, is the largest in the ensemble. It is of the same type as Miyāṅī no. 2 but slightly later in date; its *śikhara* is a little more attenuated. It too has suffered from restorations. No. 3 stands to its southeast, facing north.

In the opposite row is a pair of shrines, nos. 4 and 5, very similar except that the latter has no *jāla* on its *śikhara*. The *vedibandha* of no. 4 (fig. 7f), like the Miyāṇī example, conforms more to Nāgara practise than do the *pīṭha* of chapels nos. 2 and 5 at Magaḍeruṁ. The *veṇukośa* of the *śikhara*, curiously enough, fails to show the usual *bhūmi-āmalakas*. Inside the cella is a mutilated image of Sūrya seated on seven horses.

[134] Cousens, *op. cit.*, plate XXXVIII.

[135] *Ibid.*, plate XC shows the side elevation.

[136] Burgess, *op. cit.*, plate XLV.

Latina Shrines without Lattice-work *(a-jāla)*:

(1) Rāndal Temple, Visāvāḍā.

To the northwest of the famous shrine of Mūla-dvārakā in this village lies an old ruinous Sun temple (plate 45), now dedicated to the god's consort. It is a *sāndhāra* scheme on an oblong plan, with an ambulatory and a hall of the type half open toward the front (fig. 30). The cella is *pañcaratha*, showing mouldings reminiscent of Miyānī no. 2.[137]

The two free-standing pillars of the hall belong to the Rucaka order, while the dwarf pillars are of the complex type. The ambulatory wall has a window on the left side. There are also ruined windows in the north and south walls of the hall.

(2) Nandeśvara Temple no. 5.

This stands alongside no. 4, to its north. Its *vedibandha* is slightly higher than that of no. 4 but otherwise similar. In fact except for the absence here of *jāla* work on the *śikhara* the two are almost identical.

(3) Temple no. 6, Oḍadar.

This small building, which faces west, stands close to no. 5, a little to the northwest. Its porch has plain Bhadraka pillars. The *rathikā* on the fronton of the porch roof shelters an eroded, three-headed image of the Vaikuṇṭha form of Viṣṇu. The ceiling, the only example of the decorated class, is *samatala* and shows the well-known Kṛṣṇa-līlā theme, Nāgadamana (plate 64).[138]

The *pīṭha* and *maṇḍovara* need no comment. The three *bhadra* niches are vacant. The *śikhara* (not illustrated) is rather stunted. From the style of the figural carving in the ceiling, the temple appears to be of the late ninth century. Although the cult image is lost, the building should be sacred to Viṣṇu on the evidence of the *rathikābimba*.

(4) Kālikā mātā temple, Dhrāsaṇavel.

On plan (fig. 21) the temple is similar to the one at Old Dhrevaḍ except that the inner sanctum has an ambulatory. The walls of the shrine and hall are plain. The ambulatory is covered by a penthouse roof in two stages, with blocked-out projections meant to be carved as *candraśālās*. The *śikhara* above the cella is plain. The *śukanāsa* has vanished. The hall has two windows in the north and south walls as at Dhrevaḍ. The front wall is open, showing two free-standing square pillars. Inside there are four Bhadraka pillars of the type seen at Magaḍeruṁ. The building seems to be a contemporary of (3).

(5) Pañcāyatana temple, Pāchtar.

To the east of the village stands an old Śiva temple with four small shrines surrounding the main one. As at the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajuraho, the shrines of the front pair face each other. The main shrine and the two rear shrines face east (fig. 31b; plate 47). The main shrine is *pañcaratha* while the subsidiary shrines are squares. All possess dwarf Rucaka pillars in their porches.

The doorway of the main shrine has figures of attendants and the nine planetary gods on the

[137] Cousens, *op. cit.*, plate XLV.
[138] Nanavati and Dhaky, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

architrave. The roof of the porch of the main shrine is in cross-section three penthouse tiers. Its *rathikā* is vacant. The building seems assignable to the beginning of the tenth century.

(6) Pañcāyatana temple, Miyāṇī.

Over two miles northeast of Miyānī is a temple complex very similar in plan and elevation to (5), but whitewashed and still used for worship.

(7) Temple no. 3, Miyāṇī.

This stands southeast of no. 2, facing east, and is a little smaller and plainer.

(8) Temple no. 4, Miyāṇī.

This stands some distance to the south of (7), facing south. Its doorway has figures of Varuṇa and Kubera as attendants. The *śikhara* is partly ruined.

(9, 10, 11) Kanakasena Cāvaḍā's temples near Vasai.

In the neighborhood of Vasai near Dvārkā stands a group of temples, three of which are old. They have been interconnected. The central one and the one to its left face east, each having a hypostyle hall. The right-hand shrine possesses only a small porch, now connected with the hall of the central shrine (not illustrated).

Multi-spired, *śekharī* with lattice-work:

(1) Śiva temple, Khimrāṇā.

Khimrāṇā (or Khimrana: Lat. 22° 28′; Long. 70° 9/75′) is about eight miles east of Jamnagar, a little south of the main road leading to Rajkot. The old temple has lost its porch, while its walls have been reinforced and masked with thick cement plaster. The *śikhara* now is the five-spired, *pañcāṇḍaka*, type (plate 48). Its lattice-work is more advanced than that of Magaḍeruṁ, and looks like a variation of the type seen in North Gujarat, on the temples at Roḍā.

Unlike other temples of this area, the doorway is ornate, and to some extent again looks like a local variation of the kind seen in the Roḍā monuments. It is a *triśākhā* variety, with a *patraśākhā*, a *rūpastambha*, and a *khalvaśākhā*. The *patraśākhā* is carved into a deeply cut, gracefully undulating creeper. The *rūpastambha* comtwo successive panels of dancing and seated figures, a vase-and-foliage member, a fluted *laśuna* and *padma*, a capital, and finally an image of Sūrya on one jamb and of Candra on the other. The attendant figures are Gaṅgā and Yamunā respectively, together with a dancing Śiva on either side. The *uttaraṅga* above the doorway contains seven panels with figures, Śiva at the center with Viṣṇu and Brahmā at the extremities; the other figures are not clearly identifiable.

Below the Śiva panel is a Ganeśa in the center of a *saubhāgya-paṭṭa*. As at Kadvār there is an "over-door". The persistence of this feature as late as the early ninth century—this building's probable date—is rather strange; nowhere else is it known afterward. The same sort of temporary survival is known in other regional styles, however. The "over-door" is seen in central India in Guptan period temples and is found in the earliest temples at Bhubaneshwar in Orissa; but probably not any later, so far as one can say at present.

The style of the sculpture favors a date for the Khimrāṇā building slightly later than the Roḍā group, say the early ninth century.

(2) Bhīma devaḷa nder Prācī.

The holy tīrtha of Prācī is located some fifteen miles to the east of Prabhās Pāṭaṇ on the way to Kodinar. About two miles and a half to the north, northwest of the village stands the large Sun temple behind which at a small distance flows a streamlet. The large *sāndhāra* Nāgara temple was sacred to Dharmāditya according to an inscription of Kumārapāla's time found at this temple. The building, however, is three centuries older than the date of the inscription. It possesses a *pañcaratha* shrine and a closed hall (fig. 33). The *mukhamaṇḍapa* which existed when Burgess visited the place is no more.[139] The ambulatory as well as the closed hall are provided with balconied windows filled with heavy, simple grilles. Above the *vedibandha* the plain *maṇḍovara* is relieved by an equally plain *madhya-bandha*.

The *śikhara* had to be made complex since the temple is very large (plate 49). It comprises 33 *aṇḍakas*. The *śṛṅgas* in two stages along the *karṇas* are eight in number. Those on the *pratirathas* are four, and behind them are again four *naṣṭaśṛṅgas*. *Uraḥśṛṅgas* in two sets leaning against the *mūlamañjarī* are also present. They are eight in number. Together with the *mūlamañjarī* the total comes to 33 theoretically. The frontal *aṇḍakas* are however sacrificed, since the junction of the hall and the *śukanāsa* does not permit their construction in practice. The presence of *uraḥśṛṅgas* in this *śikhara* at such an early date is significant inasmuch as it corrects the belief current among scholars that the complex *śikhara*-form with *uraḥśṛṅgas* did not appear before the tenth century. This importance apart, the *śikhara* is very clumsily built. The graceful proportions and correct articulation of *śṛṅgas* seen in the tenth century temples are wanting. The placement of an *udgama* above each *uraḥśṛṅga* is never found in later temples nor is it necessary. This indicates an experimental stage when architects had not yet solved all the problems involved in the construction of a multi-*aṇḍaka śikhara*. The roof of the hall has vanished or was perhaps flat from the beginning.

The door frame of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* (plate 62) possesses a large *rūpastambha* with two big superimposed panels. That on the left (as one faces it) bears a seated Nāga figure and Daṇḍī above with a broken staff and a water jar; a sword and shield are lying beside his left leg. The corresponding figures on the right side are a Nāga and Piṅgala. The latter holds the staff in his right hand, while the left one rests on *kaṭi*. Sword and shield are lying to his left. Both deities wear *kavaca* and an upper garment with a central knot on the breast. Ganeśa serves as a tutelary image. Above the doorway was once a frieze of planet images, two of which are seen inserted in the upper wall.

The interior of the closed hall strongly reminds us of the arrangement seen in the larger Maitraka temples. The Rucaka pillars and the method of covering the ceiling and ambulatory still follow Kadvār and similar examples. A pair of smaller pillars has been inserted between the columns of the *mukhālinda* and *pārśvālinda*. While everywhere else the pillars possess roll brackets, those on the minor pair in the *mukhālinda* show *kumāra* brackets. The figures of the *kumāra* have been vigorously rendered. The square cella has three low, small niches, one on each direction

[139] Burgess and Cousens, "Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat", p. 73, figs. 5, 6.

except the east. In each of these niches is found a mutilated figure of Sūrya seated on seven horses. Daṇḍī and Rājñī, and Piṅgala and Niṣprabhā flank on either side of the image. The doorway of the sanctum has suffered restoration. On its either side in a large rectangular panel stand Rājñī and Niṣprabhā in the *līlākamala* pose. The frieze once topped as an *uttaraṅga* has been removed from its position, and its fragments have been rebuilt in the top wall of the closed hall. From these fragments it appears that the *uttaraṅga* contained five panels enclosing seated figures of Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, and Candra. This recalls the Kadvār parallel, with the only change that Sūrya has been accorded a central position since the shrine is sacred to him. Curiously, the Viṣṇu and Śiva figures turn slightly towards the central figure of the Sun.[140] The original image inside the cella is lost. The image had a huge *parikara* somewhat akin to the Kadvār type, the fragments of which are lying about the temple. Two have been rebuilt in the eastern wall of the hall. A fine, large, bearded Daṇḍī with a conical Scythian cap and a staff can be seen on one of them, along with a mutilated figure of one of the consorts. The Aśvinīkumāras, the twin sons of Sūrya, are also observable in one of the panels of the *parikara*.

The date of the temple can be fixed on two grounds. The *jāla* on the *mūlamañjarī* is more advanced than that of the principal shrine at Magaḍeruṁ. All the same it is more archaic than that of Miyāṇī no. 2. This would favour an early ninth century date. The surviving figure sculptures also support this date.

Śekharī Shrines without Lattice-work:

(1) Sonkaṁsārī Temple no. 3.

This *pañcāṇḍaka* temple was for reasons unknown left unfinished with regard to carving. Its *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has disappeared leaving behind a few basement courses (fig. 29c). The shrine is *triratha* with a central proliferation on the *bhadra* side giving rise to a sham balcony (plate 50). The *karṇa* is provided with *phālanās*, this being the earliest known example of the form which was to be universal and to develop further in Solaṅkī temples. The *vedibandha* (fig. 7j) is now well developed though still archaic compared to tenth century temples. The *antarapatra* here shows plain *ratnapaṭṭa*. The *maṇḍovara* with its deep *salilāntara* recesses is also plain.

Above the *bhadra* window on each of the three sides is a plain *mattavāraṇa* or *mattālimba* topped by a prominent *śūrpa*. Next comes a band of rafters' ends followed by a beautiful *śūrasenaka*. The *rathikā* above is simply blocked out. The *mūlaśṛṅga* together with its four turrets are plain. The doorway of the shrine has been left unfinished. If carved, it would have resembled the Kadvār example as far as its design is concerned.

The date of this building seems to be early ninth century, a generation later than the Roḍā examples. The *mūlaśṛṅga* constructed on *triguṇasūtra*, the bold *āmalasāraka* and the *śūrasenaka* are somewhat akin to the Roḍā instances, though the *vedibandha* is less bold and the advances in matter of foliations in plan favour a slightly later date.

(2) Temple no. 1, Miyāṇī.

To the north-east of Temple no. 2 stands this temple at a distance of about a furlong. The building is square on plan and though it possesses a *vedibandha*, the characteristic recesses of a

[140] In tenth century temples such as at Koṭāī and Kerākoṭ in Kutch, this posture is further developed: Viṣṇu and Brahmā not only turn toward the central figure of Śiva but fold their hands in supplication.

Nāgara temple are absent.[141] Its *maṇḍapa* has disappeared. The *maṇḍovara* has a *madhyabandha* of *grāsapaṭṭikā* and one niche in each direction save east (plate 51). The niche is crowned by a miniature *phāṁsanā*. A band of rafters' ends tops the wall and is its last surviving example in this area. The *śikhara* has 21 *aṇḍakas*. The *rathikās* are simple and show lozenges carved in low relief. The doorway of the shrine shows what may be Gaṅgā and Yamunā as attendants. The *uttaraṅga* is a replacement of the thirteenth century. Inside the sanctum is a *liṅga* on a *pīṭhikā* which may be old. The form of the *grāsamukha* and the style of figures on the doorway indicate the late tenth century. The temple is a late, degenerated example of the local style of Saurāṣṭra.

(3) Temple no. 3, Nandeśvara group.

This is a small oblong shrine, the only one that faces north in the group. It was dedicated to the Saptamātṛkās. The *vedībandha* (fig. 7g) resembles that of nos. 4 and 5 here. The shrine had no *maṇḍapa*. It is *triratha* on plan. The recessed *maṇḍovara* is plain. The *pañcāṇḍaka śikhara* is crowned by an *āmalasāraka* and a *cūlikā*. An ill-defined *uraḥśṛṅga* is found on the back side. A thinly carved *śūrasenaka* is found on the back of the *mūlaśṛṅga* The frontal turrets show *jāla* work on their northern face; otherwise the *śikhara* is uncarved.

VALABHĪCCHANDAJA

Temple no. 6 in the Khimeśvara group is the only surviving example of a temple possessing a *valabhī* or wagon-vault superstructure, known in Drāviḍian texts as *śālā śikhara*. The sanctum is oblong on plan (fig. 19b). Its closed hall is, however, square. The plain wall of the sanctum is topped by a band of rafters' ends and a *kapota*. A large, heavy *śūrasenaka* is seen in high relief on the back-wall of the shrine (plate 55). Above the *kapota* comes a short *kaṇṭha;* then a large *skandha-vedi* formed by a prominent *śūrpa*. Finally comes the oblong keel-roof—the *valabhī*—with a large *candraśālā* on either end.

The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has an opening towards the north as well as the east. Four Rucaka pillars are found inside this hall. The doorway of the sanctum is plain but is flanked on either side by a large *śūrasenaka* projecting boldly from the wall. The original images of the Saptamātṛkās are now found outside, and are highly corroded. The roof of the hall is flat.

The temple in view of its heavy mouldings and other stylistic features seems to be contemporary with the oldest shrines of the Vimānākāra class, and may be ascribed to the early seventh century. It would thus be the earliest surviving example of a temple in the Valabhī mode not only in North India; it would even be earlier by a generation than the earliest Pallava examples at Mahabalipuram.[142]

[141] This seems to be a survival of an earlier convention.

[142] The *śālāśikhara* is of course present at an earlier date in miniature on the *hāras* of the Makuṭeśvara temple and the Malegitti Śivālaya in the Chālukyan territory.

UNCLASSIFIABLE TEMPLES

The temples under this heading do not fall under any of the four above-noted classes for the simple reason that none has retained its superstructure; hence their classification is not possible. Some are completely ruined except for their basement. Quite a few have been replaced by recent structures. Brief mention of all is made here while stock-taking the quantitative output of the pre-Solaṅkī temples in the region.

(1) *Durgā temple, Kuchaḍī.*

To the northern outskirt of the village stands a bi-chambered temple sacred to Mahiṣamardinī, facing north. Inside, the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* is covered by flat, thin stone slabs. The spire on the cella seems to be later.

(2) *Śiva temple, Visāvaḍā.*

A third pre-Solaṅkī temple at the site is located about three furlongs to the south of the temple of Mūladvārkā. It consists of a square sanctum and a square closed hall. The latter has two free-standing pillars (fig. 17a). Its superstructure is lost.

(3) *Nāgaḍerum, Pasnāvaḍā.*

To the south of the Gāyatrī temple and close by stands this small spireless building, which is very similar in plan and elevation to the last noted one (fig. 17b).

(4) *Saptamātṛkā temple, Boricā.*

To the south of the Śiva temple stands a small, rectangular, mono-celled shrine which itself faces north. The entrance and exit to the sanctum are marked by two passages formed by the insertion of two carved Rucaka pillars interconnected by a *vedikā* (fig. 13C). The images of the Seven Mothers together with that of Gaṇeśa are at present under a thick coat of red lead.

(5) *Saptamātṛkā temple, Pātā.*

A shrine smaller than the preceding one but similar to it (except for the absence of *vedikā* and the pillars which are Vajraka), stands to the south of the Sun temple (fig. 13d). The Mothers and companion gods are all smeared with red lead.

(6) *Navadurgā temple, Sūtrāpāḍā.*

To the south of the Sun temple and close by stands a rectangular shrine sacred to the Saptamātṛkās. It is as usual oriented toward the north. Its *maṇḍapa* appears to be a later addition. The shrine wall shows *uttara* and *kapota* mouldings at the top.

(7) *Koṭhā temple, Baḷej.*

To the north of the Piṭhaḍa mātā temple stands this disused temple once used as a watch-tower by outlaws. The shrine contains the usual two square compartments. The shrine preserves the lower-most tier of its spire: a *kapota* decorated with *candraśālās*. The doorway of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* shows a *bāhyaśākhā* decorated with lotus leaves, and *bakulamālā* above. A *cādyakī* with a

central *candraśālā* top it. Inside the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* are four Rucaka pillars of the Kadvār type with double *taraṅga* brackets.

(8) *Temple of Siddhanātha, Prabhās Pāṭaṇ.*

In the Triveṇī group of temples at Prabhās Pāṭaṇ near the well known Sun temple (*Arkasthala*), stand the oldest surviving shrine of this holy *Tīrtha*. It is a *sāndhāra* building with a partially ruined ambulatory. The closed hall before the sanctum has been rebuilt with old, plain Rucaka pillars.

(9) *Bhavanātha temple, Junāgaḍh.*

On a way to the foot of the Girnar hills stands a very old and badly repaired temple of Bhavanātha still held very sacred. More than 100,000 people gather here on Mahāsvarātri day. Among the old portions preserved are the square sanctum and the ambulatory. The ceiling follows the Kadvār technique. The spire is no more in existence. An old *kuṇḍa* nearby may be as old as the temple. Jain works relate that this temple was repaired by Minister Tejapāla in the thirteenth century.

(10) *Old temple, Savanī.*

Some seven miles north-east of Prabhās Pāṭaṇ, upstream on the Hiraṇyā River, above the uppermost river terrace on the left bank, stands an old temple with a closed hall (fig. 11 b). If the tiers of its *phāṁsanā* roof were properly differentiated, it could have been classed with the Kinderkheḍā series. The temple faces east.

(11) *Kālikā mātā temple, Nāvadrā.*

On the opposite bank of the Hiraṇyā River, to the north of the village of Nāvadrā, stands an east-facing temple sacred to Kālikā. The plain square shrine possesses a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*. The spire on the sanctum appears to be late. The hall shows a plain, concentric ceiling.

(12) *Triple Shrine, Sarmā.*

At Sarmā (or Sarma: Lat. 21° 19′; Long. 69° 59.25′) stands an old triple shrine that faces east, the earliest known of the kind in Gujarat.[143] The central chapel dedicated to Śiva is slightly larger than the other two, sacred to Brahmā and Sūrya (fig. 31 a). The doorways of the three shrines are almost identical in decoration. A stencilled scroll is to be observed in all the three. Attendant figures are also there. The common *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has four pillars, each touching the corner. The ceiling is decorated with long lotus leaves. The Nāgara *śikharas* of the shrines are sadly ruined. This temple appears to be one of the latest in Saindhava style, and may perhaps even be post-Saindhava in date.

(13) *Añjanī mātā temple, Oḍadar.*

Temple no. 1 in the Gorakhamatha group in this village was the largest and the oldest shrine of the whole group. Only its basement, measuring 37 ft. by 21 ft. 8 ins., now survives, together

[143] Literary sources ascribe a Tripuruṣa prāsāda at Pāṭaṇ Aṇhilvāḍ to the Caulukya King Mūlarāja (r. 942–95) and his great grandson Bhīmadeva I (r. 1022–66).

with two pillars reused in the modern small square shrine of Añjanī mātā built on this old foundation. The mouldings of this *adhiṣṭhāna* are *upāna*, *kumuda*, *kṣepaṇa*, *kṣoṇī*, *kandhara*, *padma-valabhī*, *uttara*, *kapota*, *kṣepaṇa* and *paṭṭikā* (fig. 4h). It is thus related to the Kadvār class, and the original temple must belong to the same date. From the oblong plan and the pillars and dwarf pillars of this temple built into other structures in the neighbourhood, it appears that the temple was very similar to the Sun temple at Kinderkheḍā, although its spire may have been of the Vimāna class. The pillar shafts as at the Saptamātṛkā shrine at Boricā are crudely carved (plates 69–70). Floral bands and medallions bearing a variety of *kīrttimukhas*, Ganeśa, etc. are among their decorations. Their distribution vaguely recalls the wall pilasters at Ajaṇṭā and Aurangabad.

(14) *Sun temple, Rātiā.*

Rātiā (or Rātia: Lat. 21° 25′; Long. 69° 49.50′) is about 19 miles south-east of Porbandar on way to Madhavpur. Only the back wall of the sanctum of the Sun temple now reminds. A band of rafters' ends is seen at its top. The lower-most tier of the spire shows a *kapota* with *candraśalās*. The building when complete possibly belonged, like the Koṭhā temple at Baḷej, to the Pseudo-Drāviḍic group. Mutilated fragments of a Sun image are lying thereabout.

(15) *Sun temple, Boricā.*

Several yards to the north-east of the Śiva temple, near an old well, rise the foundations of an oblong *sāndhāra prāsāda* which was similar to the Sun temple at Kinderkheḍā and measured 38 ft. 6 incs. by 18 ft. 3 incs. The square inner sanctum stands in a repaired state. The present images of the Sun and his consort inside do not seem to be old.

(16) *Saptamātṛkā temple, Porbandar.*

In the old northern sector of Porbandar, facing the creek, stands the basement of a temple sacred to Porā Devī, patron goddess of Porbandar. This belongs to the late thirteenth century; but close by it is a small, older, rectangular shrine which preserves a few highly mutilated images of Mātṛkās. The shrine is in total ruin. It faces as usual to the north.

(17–20) The temple of Harasiddha at Miyāṇī was originally a large, *sāndhāra*, pre-Solaṅkī edifice that has suffered repeated renovations. Above it on the slope of the hill stands a row of three small pre-Solaṅkī shrines, now whitewashed.

(21) A small distance from the Pañcāyatana temple two miles east of Miyāṇī are the remains of an oblong, bi-chambered temple.[144]

(22) *Sonkansārī Temple no. 2.*

This is situated between Temples no. 1 and 3. The basement is intact. The walls are in total ruins. On plan it is a *sāndhāra prāsāda* where the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* is slightly smaller than the main shrine. The *mukhamaṇḍapa* is provided with a flight of steps. The *vedibandha* of the main shrine differs slightly from that of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* (fig. 7h and i), though it resemble that of Temple no. 3 here. The cella has been repaired in antiquity, together with the surviving pillars of the *maṇḍapa*. Originally, the temple had a Nāgara *śikhara*, the fragments of which have been built

[144] Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 70 and plate XC.

into a later restored pyramidal cella roof. The width of the main shrine is 35 ft. 4 ins., that of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* 32 ft. The overall length of the temple excluding the flight of steps is 62 ft. 7 ins. The main shrine is *triratha* with projecting balconied windows. The latter possessed decorated *rājasenaka* and *vedikā* mouldings, as fragments on the south side indicate.

(23) The temple of Rāvaṇeśvara in Jaraḍeśvara group at Rāṇāvāv has been renovated very recently. It belonged to the Kinderkheḍā series.

(24) The old temple at Gosā has completely disappeared, leaving behind a small subsidiary shrine of the Visāvāḍā (Śaṅkha ḍerī) type.

(25) The small shrine perching on the north-east corner of the *jagatī* of the Suvarṇatīrtha temple possesses a spire that is a cross between the *sūrpodbhava* and Nāgara types. The walls of the temple are of the Nāgara order; the *latā* is also Nāgarī; but the *veṇukośa* is replaced here by *phaṁsanā* tiers (plate 54).

(26) The temple of Vārāhī mātā on the way to Okhā from Dvārakā has also of late suffered renovations.

(27–28) Temples nos. 3 and 4 in Pātā group have lost their *śikhara*. In view of the recessed walls and *vedibandha* in the wall, they may have been of the Nāgara class of the late ninth century.

(29) *Temple no. 2, Oḍadar.*

A mono-celled small shrine standing to the north of Temple no. 1. Its curious covering consists of one large penthouse roof-like member ending in a point. Inside are very late images of the Sun and his consort.

OTHER MONUMENTS

Buildings other than temples attributable to the Maitraka or Saindhava period are very few indeed. The small old *kuṇḍas* at Kadvār and at Bhāṇsarā are too simple to deserve comment. There is, however, one structure of singular interest; the ruined Śaivaite monastery in the Khimeśvara group of temples (fig. 35 a). The elevation of the southeast corner of the back hall is illustrated in fig. 35 b. The plain wall is topped by *uttara* and *kapota*. The monastery faces north. It seems to be contemporary with the temples there, and is the oldest known example of a Brahmanical structural monastery in India. Those at Raṇod (Araṇīpadra), Surwaya, Chandrehi, etc. in Central India are later by more than three centuries. In Gujarat proper the only other example of a Śaivaite monastery is a two-storeyed example at Puaṁ Rā'no gaḍh in Kutch. It, however, belongs to the early eleventh century. The step-wells so common in the Solaṅkī period have not so far been known from the periods under review.

Such are the temples of the pre-Solaṅkī or pre-Caulukyan period of Gujarat. Their austerity is compensated by their variety; and their poverty in decoration is balanced by the two important revelations they make regarding the birth of the Nāgara *śikhara* and the beginnings of its complex forms. Thus academically if not always aesthetically the group merits a high pedestal in the domain of Indian temple architecture. As we have seen their worth has been recognized by

scholars of the greatest distinction. They have attracted the attention of Coomaraswamy, Codrington, and Kramrisch, and have been given more than passing notice by Percy Brown. The reports made by Burgess and Cousens pointed out a direction for fruitful further research; and more recently Sankalia, Saraswati, and Saundara Rajan have contributed valuable opinions of the material after minute study.

As has already been stated, Dr. Sankalia was the first scholar to utilize to full advantage the material previously collected; attempting by his disciplined approach to bring out a picture that would be choherent and convincing. Since his analysis was made more than two decades ago, a wider documentation has made possible further advances, supplying missing links and revealing subtler interrelationships. He had postulated two groups in the series of eight temple sites that he emphasized after discussing Gop.[145] One comprised Visāvāḍa, Bileśvara, Sūtrapāḍā, and Thān; the other Kadvār, Kinderkheḍā, Sonkāṅsārī, and Pāsthar. He suggested that the Kadvār-Pāsthar group might be a little earlier than the other, but placed it after Thān because its type of *śikhara* construction is architecturally distinct.[146] In his terminology the "pre-Caulukyan" development ended and the "Caulukyan" proper began with Sūtrapāḍā.[147] Today these two groups (and the connection of the former with Gop) can no longer be accepted in the terms of this brilliant but pioneering hypothesis, for the following reasons:

(1) The Old Temple at Visāvāḍā belongs to the roll cornice class as against the penthouse roof class of Gop. Thus Dr. Sankalia's statement that its "*śikhara* has four steps instead of three as at Gop" should not be used to indicate a simple stylistic development.

(2) The Bileśvara and Visāvāḍā monuments are of the same age, as their common type of *adhiṣṭhāna* and proportions prove. Again the two should not be taken, therefore, as successive stages, but rather as representatives of allied but different classes.

(3) The Sutrapāḍā building should not be taken as an immediate successor to the Bileśvara stage. We now know two other buildings, Piṇḍārā and Bhāṇasarā no. 1, which fall between as transitional links.

(4) In the second group, only the Kadvār temple is very early; the relative lateness of the other three argue against making the whole group earlier than the first.

(5) The Kadvār building, since it lacks any superstructure, cannot be classified in these terms.

(6) The Sun temple at Kinderkheḍā and the Pāchtar temple belong to different classes altogether; so the latter cannot be derived from the former.

(7) The Thān temple is completely out of context in this setting. It belongs to a different tradition, being closely allied to the Roḍā temples of Northern Gujarat rather than to the late Maitraka period remains of Saurāṣṭra.

(8) Sūtrapāḍā cannot be taken as a threshold monument between pre-Solaṅkī (or pre-Chaulukya) and Solaṅkī proper, but rather illustrates the ending of the later Vimāna mode and the dawn of the Nāgara form. The true Solaṅkī style did not emerge before ca. A.D. 1000.[148] In addition, the complexities seen in the Solaṅkī *śikharas* not only have their antecedents in proto-

[145] Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[146] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.
[147] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–63.
[148] Dhaky, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–4.

Solaṅkī monuments but also have early parallels in pre-Solaṅkī temples of Saurāṣṭra, as at Khimarāṇā, Sonkansārī no. 3, and Prācī (the Bhīmadevaḷ).

A decade after Sankalia, S.K. Saraswati reexamined the whole problem.[149] He challenged his predecessor's classification of both Sūtrapāḍā and Pāsthar as buildings of the Gop type, stressing in both the presence of a low, archaic *śikhara* which pointed rather to an early stage of the Nāgara style, co-existing chronologically with the Gop type. Much of this argument may be unhesitatingly accepted. Sūtrapāḍā, as we have seen, certainly belongs to the Nāgara class, rather than to the Vimāna or Phāṁsanā. The claim for co-existence needs further investigation, since:

(1) The Nāgara form of *śikhara* seems to have evolved from the later Vimāna, at least in the Saurāṣṭra area.

Bhāṇasarā temple no. 1 stands on the border-line between the two. If so, the whole Śikharanvita group should be later than the Vimānākāra group. Some of the Phāṁsanā buildings of the Surpodhava sub-class may in its later stages have co-existed with the archetypal Nāgara examples. Stylistically, for instance, the Jaraḍeśvara temple no. 2 and the Sun temple at Sūtrāpāḍā seem to be contemporary, for their central spines agree in essentials.

(2) As for the Nāgara temple found near the Bileśvara monument, its *śikhara* is even later than that of the Sūtrāpāḍā building, as its form and the advanced *jāla* work indicate; belonging in fact to the third and latest series of the Śikharanvita class.

The juxtaposition of these two types at Bileśvara no doubt suggests what happened at Paṭṭadakal, Mahākūṭeśvara, or Ālampur. But what took place in Chālukyan territory is not necessarily a valid parallel in explaining the architectural history of Saurāṣṭra.

As for the ground plans, some of the early Maitraka types were carried over to the later Maitraka phase, and even into Saindhava. If the ground plan of the Sūtrāpāḍā temple resembles early Maitraka, one should remember that in date it is separated by no more than a century from the oldest Vimāna examples.

Shri K.V. Soundara Rajan has very recently advanced a provocative theory as to the architectural affiliations of the early Saurāṣṭra monuments: i. e. that the Chālukyan and the Central Indian styles were more or less equally influential in the Saurāṣṭra development, "but owing to the integral nearness of the Chālukyan country, the early Saurashtra temples had taken more Chālukyan elements into them".[150] He draws a number of analogies between the features seen at Gop and those of the Deccan in the sixth century, seeing the Old Temple as "a natural extension into Kathiawad of rudimentary Chālukyan forms, with an additional inventive feature in its tall or high cella... "This last he sees as a local innovation whose "very inventiveness [marks] a lack of tradition in the formation of the cella". Other Gop characteristics, "the peculiar high plinth and rows of side niches... as well as its plain featureless slim shrine structure" may have a different derivation, perhaps the "Gupta architectural formula as seen at Bhitargaon and Deogarh".

In evaluating this hypothesis, one must remember that no evidence from political history supports the assumption of Chālukyan penetration into Saurāṣṭra. True, a branch of the Chālukyan house ruled in South Gujarat at Navasārikā between 669 and 750. But their establishment

[149] Saraswati, *op. cit.*, pp. 586–87.
[150] Soundara Rajan, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–5.

must postdate early Saurāṣṭra monuments like Gop and Bileśvara. The remains of their own art and architecture are extremely scanty, and their relevance to the Chālukyan style proper is uncertain. As for the latter, its earliest structural temples, with the possible exception of the Lādkhān shrine at Aihole, are almost contemporaneous with the oldest Saurāṣṭra remains.

The penthouse roof of the Gop temple's spire is a feature almost unknown in the Chālukyan domain. Again, the form of the *candraśālās* on the tiers of Saurāṣṭra buildings, especially those at Gop, is closely allied to that seen on the frieze in the Uparkoṭ caves at Junagaḍh, and not to the Chālukyan repertory.

Wherever figure sculpture appears in the early Saurāṣṭra temples, including the *pramatha* figures in the Gop *adhiṣṭhāna*, it conforms to the West Indian school.

It is true that the Phāṁsanā types with roll cornice do resemble superficially some of the early buildings at Aihole. But the roll cornice as such was known in Saurāṣṭra as early as the Late Kṣatrapa age, being found in the Uparkoṭ and Khambhāliḍā caves. The latter's façade includes friezes that show miniature shrines in high relief (plate 6); the spires of all of these have the roll cornice, and on one a row of three cupolas is also in evidence. This last feature, found above the spire of the Bhāṇasarā temple no. 5 and on the *karṇakūṭas* of the fourth *tala* of the *prastara* of the Bileśvara temple, thus also has early antecedents in Saurāṣṭra proper.

Even the monuments of the Pseudo-Drāviḍic sub-group of the Vimānākāra class, which to some degree recall the look of Drāviḍian buildings, present a number of differences. Conspicuously absent are the *hāras*, consisting of *kūṭas*, *pañjaras*, and *śalās*, seen prominently in early Chālukyan and Pallava temples. Instead one finds a simple cornice decorated with closely spaced *candraśālās*. The *karṇakūṭas* here display a greater variety of forms that agree in principle, but not in details, with the Drāviḍian parallels. The ubiquitous, crowning *āmalasāraka* is unknown in the Drāviḍian order. The incipient *śukanāsa* seen in such temples as Bileśvara and Sonkansārī temple no. 1 in unknown in Pallava usage; and when it does appear in Chālukyan temples of the Drāviḍian class, such as Virūpākṣa and Mallikārjuna, in the second quarter of the eighth century, their presence may be explained by Nāgara influence.

Recently Smt. Debala Mitra, in discussing the origin of the *khakarā* temples in Orissa, has discredited the previously held assumption that their forms show the influence of Drāviḍian *śālā śikhara* types; calling attention to the presence of northern prototypes as early as the Bhārhut and Sāñcī reliefs and the Ajaṇṭā paintings.[151] The buildings of our Vimānākāra class seem to present a similar case. The mode was certainly not unknown in the North, though it was not a favorite one there; and wherever met, it conforms to regional idioms rather than to Drāviḍian convention.

In Central India the Nāgara style was practised at a nascent stage even in the Gupta period. As it grew more popular the already rare Vimāna type soon went out of existence. In isolated Saurāṣṭra, we have seen above how it took shape as an issue from the late Vimāna idiom. The similarities observable between the early Karṇāṭa temples and those of Saurāṣṭra are due to the fact that the earlier tradition in the latter region (Kṣatrapa or even pre-Kṣatrapa in date) was a close, though inferior, ally of the Āndhra-Kṣatrapa traditions in the Deccan. The offsprings of both naturally retained certain parallels, even after many centuries.

[151] Debala Mitra, "Four little known *khākarā* temples of Orissa", *Jour. of the Asiatic Soc.*, Calcutta, II, 1, 1960.

The last point to be discussed in this section is concerned with the interrelationships between the groups of early temple buildings at Roḍā, Lakroḍā (late eighth century), Maṭoḍā, and Śāmaļājī (early ninth century) in North Gujarat, and the Nāgara monuments of Saurāṣṭra. The buildings of the Early Nāgara series in the latter territory are undoubtedly earlier than the others. It has already been remarked that in North Gujarat an allied but independent tradition prevailed, which produced works of a superior order. Local antecedents for these have not been established, but this fact is not a valid argument for their derivation from the temples of the Early Nāgara series. Points suggesting kinship and contrasting features are reviewed below.

(1) The plain square plan and featureless elevation of the cella seen in the Early Nāgara series and often in its Saurāṣṭran derivatives, are not favored in North Gujarat. At Lakroḍā and Maṭoḍā they do occur, but the superstructure type has no exact parallels in Saurāṣṭra. In the large *sāndhāra* that faces the Viṣṇu temple at Śāmaļājī on the north, the inner sanctum is square, but is relieved with ornate central niches: a feature not known in Saurāṣṭra.

(2) Unlike the Roḍā buildings, the cella walls of the Saurāṣṭran Early Nāgara series do not use the true *nāgarī vedibandha*. When the latter does appear from the early Saindhava period on, it differs in details from the Roḍā examples.[152]

(3) The recessed *jaṅghā* of the Roḍā buildings does not agree in details with the Saurāṣṭra examples that have recessed walls. The carved *mālā* moulding at the top of the *jaṅghā* in Roḍā is almost unknown in the latter region.

(4) Square, Rucaka pillars are common to both areas, but are beautifully carved in Roḍā temples and plain in the Nāgara buildings of Saurāṣṭra. In early Maitraka period temples a few examples of carved pillars are known, but their patterns and motifs are only distantly related and inferior in workmanship to those of Roḍā. The *bhadraka* pillars seen in Roḍā are generally lacking in Maitraka period temples. They are found in rare instances such as Dhrāsaṇavel and Vasai, but are not carved (unlike Roḍā). The first of these exceptions, at least, is not anterior to the Roḍā period.

(5) The decorated ceilings of Roḍā are conspicuously lacking in Saurāṣṭra, where the *maṇḍapas* are internally covered by plain, log-like stone beams or slabs.

(6) The doorways of Roḍā and Sāmaļājī temples are beautifully decorated. The doorway or Roḍā Temple III[153] does resemble that of the Kadvār temple[154] in such points as the presence of *ratnaśākhā*, *rūpastambha* with *padma* and bold *bharaṇī* (capital), and five *rathikās* (panels) crowned by *phāṁsanā* on the architrave. That surely shows a kinship. But the "overdoor" feature found at Kadvār is absent at Roḍā; and though it is present in Saurāṣṭra in the Khimarāṅā temple of the Saindhava period, the latter is stylistically posterior to the Roḍā buildings. The only feature that reminds one of Roḍā in the Eo-Nāgara group is the door-sill with a semicircular pattern seen in the Sun temple of Sūtrāpāḍā.

(7) The *śikharas* of the Eo-Nāgara series do not agree in curvature with the Roḍā temples. The latter are closer to the Early Nāgara examples; but there the *jāla* work differs. At Roḍā the lattices are more subtly and vigorously rendered, and better integrated. In the Saurāṣṭra versions

[152] The earliest instance of a *vedibandha* is seen in the wall of the Sun Temple at Jhamrā (Plate 19). There, however, the *antarapatra* moulding is constricted, and the treatment as a whole does not conform to Roḍā practise.

[153] Shah, *op. cit.*, fig. 84.

[154] Cousens, *op. cit.*, plates XXXII, XXXIV.

a single *candraśālā* often spans the intervals of the *venukosa*, at Roḍā one finds instead a complex *udgama* pediment.

(8) The *āmalasāraka* is placed directly above the *skandha* in Eo-Nāgara temples. It is only in Saindhava buildings that a short *grīvā* intervenes; whereas the latter detail is already prominent at Roḍā.

(9) The square "rafters' ends" seen below the *vājana* or *uttira* moulding on the walls of Early Maitraka temples occurs, curiously enough, under the porch eaves of Roḍā Temple V.[155]

(10) Figure sculpture is similar in both classes, although differences in ethnic features and headdresses are not wanting.

The sum total of these facts shows an alliance within the Gujarat School of two separate traditions; the latter at first influencing the Saurāṣṭran usage and ultimately ousting it. The point is made quite clear by comparing roughly contemporaneous examples, i. e.:

The Roḍā temples[156] with the saptāvatana temple at Dhrāsanvel (plate 42; late eighth century);

The Hariṣancandranī cori[157] at Śāmaḷājī with Sonkansārī temples nos. 2 and 3 (plate 50; early ninth);

The Raṇakadevī temple[158] at Vaḍhavāṇ with temple no. 2 at Miyāṇī (plate 43; late ninth);

The Trinetreśvara temple at Thān and the Koṭāi temple with Miyāṇī temple no. 1 (late tenth).

The comparisons reveal the greater richness and general superiority of the Roḍā group and its descendants as against the Saurāṣṭra series. When the Roḍā temples were being built, a first intrusion of their style into Saurāṣṭra is visible in the Old Temple at Thān. At the end of the ninth century we meet another instance in the Rāṇakadevī temple at Vadhavān; while the same lineage is represented in the tenth by the temple of Trinetreśvara and the Muni Bāwā temple[159] near Thān. In the latter half of the tenth the style was more deeply implanted in Saurāṣṭra when the magnificent Phase I Temple of Somanātha was erected; and by the end of that century the indigenous Saurāṣṭran tradition had disappeared.

[155] Shah, fig. 88.
[156] *Ibid.*, figs. 79–92.
[157] Dhaky, *op. cit.*, plate IV.
[158] *Ibid.*, plate V; also Cousens, plate LVI.
[159] Cousens, plates LI, LII.

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Since this study was written in 1961, a few more monuments have come to light. We are not in a position to give full accounts of these or to illustrate them, since the format of the book is now a *fait accompli*. Summary information is added here as the best possible compromise.

Shri M. P. Vora has reported to us the discovery of two Phaṁsākāra temples at Bhanvad, one in the town and the other in its vicinity. Both resemble the Śiva temple at Boricha. The second author of the present study has located a *sāndhāra* temple of the Kinderkheḍā type at Pasthar, northwest of the village. Dr. H. R. Gaudani of Ahmedabad has discovered a *latina* shrine at Dhank. Its *garbhagṛha* is square and featureless. The upper half of the *śikhara* is destroyed; its *jāla* seems a little more archaic than that of the main chapel of the Magaḍeruṁ complex. In the same village Dr. Gaudani came across an L-shaped, stepped well, with a wall embellished by carved niches, which show *phaṁsana* pediments ornamented with *candraśālās* of eight century type. In addition Dr. (now Prof.) Subrahmanyam has identified two more older temples at Piṇḍārā with ruined superstructures of the Phāṁsanā class, of the penthouse variety.[1]

As we look back, the classification and the chronology we have proposed in this monograph seem perfectly acceptable. In a recent discussion at the Seminar on Indian Temple Architecture (at Varanasi, 1967), Dr. U. P. Shah has suggested on the basis of his own study and that of Dr. R. N. Mehta that the date of the Gop temple might be fifth century. We do not agree, first for the reasons given in our text; also the style of the Gop sculptures is decidedly later.[2]

[1] "Piṇḍārā and its Antiquities", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 3–4, March–June 1965, fig. III and IV, and Plate IV. These illustrate Temples No. 2 and 3, both of *phāṁsanā* type. Temple No. 2 has a Nāgara ground-plan and an open porch with dwarf pillars on dado. The dado, on its east face, is embellished with pillar-motif and niches, recalling the Gop convention. Only the lowermost course (penthouse roof) of its superstructure now remains; below that, is a row of dentils. Temple No. 3 is smaller in size square in plan, and had a superstructure like the latter one.

Above the plain door-frame of Temple No. 2, there is an interesting carving depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. (Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, fig. IX). The faces of the demons in that panel are somewhat like those found on the parapet of the Sun temple at Akhodar (cf. plate 60) we illustrated.

Coins of the Saindhava dynasty have also been found from this site. It is the first report of the existence of Saindhava coinage.

[2] While the post-script was in print we saw an article in Gujarati entitled "Saurāṣṭra-nāṁ keṭalāṅka prācīna-sthāno" by Drs. R. N. Mehta and Priyabala Shah published in *Vāk* (Rajkot, March 1968), the official bulletin of the University of Saurashtra. Therein the authors have briefly touched the problem of the date of Gop temple and expressed their views which we render here *verbatim* in English and quote *in extenso*.

"On studying the temples of this place [Piṇḍārā], it seems that the temple at Jiṇāvārī Gop is their precursor. The small village of Jiṇāvārī Gop in Jamjodhpur taluq lies longitudinally along the bank of River Vartu. The Old temple in this village is (quite) famous.

From Jiṇāvārī Gop are found shards of Red Polished Ware, a pottery that was in use in the first millenium A. D. On observing the foundations of the Gop temple and the strata (in neighbourhood) containing this pottery, it seems that both could be contemporary. That the Gop temple (Photo 10) is datable prior to sixth century has been noted by Burgess who

One additional argument bearing on the date of the Nāgara type of buildings is furnished by certain features found in the oldest temples at Alampur, whose dates are known through the study of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. For example, the interior of the Kumāra-Brahmā temple, with its four freestanding pillars in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, is reminiscent of the arrangement seen in the Sun temple at Pata, as is the covering of the aisles. The Alampur building is dated A.D. 660. Next in the dated sequence there is a Svarga-Brahmā temple of 688. Its plan, and the aisle roof from within, resemble the Sutrapāḍā-Akhodar group of monuments. The late seventh century date we suggested for the Saurāṣṭra examples remains well supported by these parallels.

described it for the first time. There is in this temple an image of Kārtikeya; furthermore, in view, on its *śikhara*, of the [presence of] images of a goddess and Gaṇapati, this temple can be understood (i.e. can be taken) as Shivaite.

The date of Gop temple is debatable. Its *gavākśas*—their patterning—can be compared with the *gavākṣas* in the two-storied cave of this Kṣatrapa period at Uperkot in Junagadh. On seeing the remains which are found therefrom (one may be) convinced that these caves are of Kṣatrapa period. If the remains of Gop temple resembled the art of the Kṣatrapa period, it can be comprehended that there are reasons to place this temple in the fifth century. Further study on it is needed.

This temple at Gop is placed above two *jagatīs*, and easterly oriented. Its east face is very mutilated but on examining the remnants on that side, it seems that steps might have been (located) there. In its present remains, there is a predominance of small *gaṇa* figures. These *gaṇas* are much too defaced but their long, Scythian-like caps etc. are capable of singling them out as the relics of the Kṣatrapa age. On the whole it is understood [i.e. it appears] that this temple is of Kṣatrapa style. It was a Śiva temple and in view of the Shivaite names of the Kṣatrapas, it is possible that their religion was Shaivism, and on that ground also there is nothing to be astonished if this temple were of Kṣatrapa period: (Photo 10).

The style that had started, in Saurashtra, from Gop temple is met [again] in Ghumlī (Photo 11) and several places such as Piṇḍārā (Photo 12) in Western Saurashtra. The style of these temples in this territory is of the pre-Solaṅkī period; therein, over and above [the temples in this style] are also found the temples in Nāgara style, which demands special study. It is possible that these temples were built in the times contemporaneous with the Gurjaras; [and hence] the development of the *jagatī* of Gop temple is very significant from this viewpoint.

There are some more, developed temples in Gop style in Piṇḍāra area. On these temples Shri R. Subrahmanyam has written a detailed article (pp. 58–59)."

We want in passing to record our own observations on the views expressed by Drs. Mehta and Shah. First, Burgess did not categorically assign Gop temple prior to sixth century; it was the suggestion subsequently made by Dr. Sankalia, who also compared the *caitya* arches of Gop temple with those of the Uperkoṭ cave. (The actual citations have been recorded in the foregoing discussions.) Second, the fifth century must be equated with the Gupta period and not with the Kṣatrapa period, because by or slightly before 400 A.D., the Kṣatrapa rule in Gujarat had come to an end. Third, the evidence of Red Polished Ware as a means in dating is as dubious as the radio-carbon date because of the enormous time-range for that Ware, and, the rather indeterminable stratigraphic position of Gop temple vis-à-vis the R.P.W. bearing strata. The temple foundation seems to cut through such strata and it can as well be posterior to the latter. Fourth, the temple has only one *jagatī*, the lower one only: the upper one is the *adhiṣṭhāna* as has been demonstrated in the main body of our text. The *gaṇa (pramatha)* figures are reminiscent not of the Gupta parallels such as at Bhumarā (late fifth century) but at Bādāmi (cave No. III, but also I and II) and the Mālegiṭṭi Śivālaya and also the upper Śivālaya at the same place. There is a strong resemblance between the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Upper Śivālaya and that of the Gop temple, suggesting a parallel development and hence contemporaneity. The Bādāmi examples, according to a chronology now being fixed for the earlier temples in Karṇāṭa, are placeable in the vicinity of 600 A.D. The Scythian cap found with some *gaṇa* figures in the Gop frieze is a feature hardly of consequence in dating. Images of the Sun God with attendents Daṇḍī and Piṅgala wearing such caps are known as far down as 9th century, such as at Bhīmadevaḷ. The more realistic date can be guessed only by the use of significant details. As for the dedication of the temple we have already suggested that it could be Shivaite. The presence of Gaṇeśa and Devī in the *candraśālā* niches of the superstructure may perhaps indicate such a possibility, although we know that both at Roda and Osia Gaṇeśa and Devī images are found in important niches on the walls of a Sun temple, in each case datable to the late eighth century. About the relationship of the Shivaite sounding names of some of the Kṣatrapa kings (such as Rudradāmana, Rudrasena, and Rudrasiṁha) and this temple, the connection there seems none because the temple is of the Maitraka age and not of the Kṣatrapa age, and the religion of a ruling king seldom interfered with the founding of temples sacred to other sects. The question of the dedication of Gop Temple may still be regarded as unsettled. Shri P.R. Srinivasan of the Government Epigraphy Department of the Archaeological Survey of India informed the second author of this study in Mysore about his success on the decipherment of that short inscription at Gop temple. He said the contents have a bearing on the builder and the building. The date he intends to assign the characters of the inscription is as late as the seventh century. We must wait till his conclusions are available in print. On our part we have suggested the last quarter of sixth century for the Gop temple. We are prepared to narrow it down to around 600 on the basis of evidence from Bādāmi, Mahākūṭa and of course Sirpur.

On reviewing the position of the Neo-Drāviḍic temples we now believe that they represent a separate variety of the Vimāna class. The ball-shaped *āmalaka* topping their superstructure indicates a source in Guptan tradition. Such *āmalakas* have been found at Bhumarā, and are now known at Nacna kuthara also. The Saurāṣṭran versions are of course degenerate.

The influence of the Mahā-Gurjara style must have started somewhat earlier than we suspected. The recent find by Dr. H. R. Gaudani of Than type temples at Maithan is indicative of this probability.[3] Also the two Phāṁsanā temples at Piṇḍārā, datable to the mid eighth century, show the beginnings of such influence, particularly in their pillars, door-frames, and wall mouldings.

We have reconsidered Prof. Saraswati's theory of the coexistence of the Vimāna and Nāgara types, and now think this not altogether impossible. There was perhaps an overlap between the last stages of Pseudo-Drāviḍic (Sonkaṁsārī no. 1), Neo-Drāviḍic, and the oldest Nāgara monuments, such as the Sun temple at Akhodar and the Koteśvara temple at Kālāvaḍ, somewhere in the latter part of the seventh century. All the same there is no reason to put the beginnings of the Nāgara mode in Saurāṣṭra as early as the oldest buildings of the Pseudo-Drāviḍic group such as Bileśvara or Khimeśvara no. 1.

On seeing our drawings of the basements of the Pseudo-Drāviḍic temples, Dr. José Pereira of the American Academy of Benares has suggested that they closely resemble those of some of the terraces inside the Brahmanical caves of pre-Raṣṭrakūṭa date at Ellora, generally placed in the late sixth or early seventh century. This is a fairly good argument in support of the dates we have proposed for the Pseudo-Drāviḍic group in Saurāṣṭra discussed in our text.

[3] Dr. Harilal Gaudani and Madhusudan Dhaky, "Keṭalāṅka navāṁ śodhāelāṁ Mahā-Gurjara śailināṁ mandiro" (in Gujarati), *Kumāra*, December 1966, 44/12, pp. 65–71, and illustrations.

GLOSSARY

adiṣṭhāna	basement
ajāla	without lattice-work
alinda	aisle
āmalasāraka	"cogged wheel" crowning member just below the finial of a *śikhara*
ambuja	a cyma recta moulding
aṇḍaka	i.e. an *āmalakasāraka* or *śṛṅga*
antarabhitti	inner wall
antarāla	vestibule
antarapatra	a deep-set fillet moulding
anuratha	a secondary offset
ardhacandra	moon-stone
ardhaparyaṅkāsana	a seated pose, one leg tucked under, the other pendent
aṣṭāyatana	shrine with seven subsidiary shrines
bāhyaśākhā	outer offset of a door-jamb
bakulamālā	a flower-garland motif
balipīṭha	table for offerings
bhadra	buttress
Bhadraka	square pillar with recesses
bhiṭṭa	plinth
bhūmi-kāṇḍa	miniature "cogged-wheel" set at regular intervals on the corners of the *śikhara*
bhūta	demon figure
bhittistambha	wall pillar
candraśālā	false dormer window
candrāvalokana	grille
candrikā	inverted-bowl-shaped finial
caturbhūma phāṁsanā	four-tiered pyramidal roof
catustala prastara	four-tiered entablature
chādya	awning-like hood member
chādyakī	minor inverted cyma recta moulding
cūlikā	finial
daṇḍachadya	corrugated awning-like hood
dhvajādhāra	flagstaff
dvibhūma phāṁsanā	two-tiered pyramidal roof
ekaśṛṅgī	single-spired
garbhagṛha	cella
garbhamuda	ceiling of cella
ghanadvāra	false doorway
ghaṇṭā	bell shape
ghaṭa	pot shape
grīvā	neck
gūḍhamaṇḍapa	closed hall in front of cella
hāra	string of *kūṭas* and *śālās* in the superstructure of a Dravidian temple
illikātoraṇa	semicircular gateway
jagatī	terrace, plinth
jāḍyakumbha	an inverted cyma recta moulding
jāla	lattice
jālaka	grille
janma	plain course in a moulding series
kakṣāsana	slanting seat-back
kalaśa	round pinnacle
kampa	half-fillet between a major moulding and a recess
kandhara	necking
kaṇṭha	a moulding
kapota	roll cornice
kapotagala	necking below roll cornice
kapotāli	cyma cornice
kapotapāli	inverted cyma recta moulding
kapotikā	minor cornice
karkara	oblong wagon-vault superstructure
karṇa	corner
karṇakūṭa	miniature square shrine at corner
karnāṇḍaka	*āmalaka* crowning a corner
karoṭaka	central circular ceiling of a *maṇḍapa*
kavaca	armor

khakarā shrine-model of the *karkara* type

khalvaśākhā undecorated door jamb

khuraka half torus moulding

kṣepaṇa fillet

kṣoṇī penthouse roof

kuḍyastambha pilaster

kumāra figure bracket or Atlantid

kumbhikā base of a pillar

kumuda torus moulding

kuṇḍa tank

kuñjarākṣa elephant-eye motif

kūṭa miniature shrine, square throughout

laśuna (ka) vasiform sub-capital member

latā "creeper"

latina single-spired

līlākamala pose

lupā dentil or rafter's-end motif

madhyabandha medial band

madhyā latā central spine

mahānāsā large antefix

mālādhara garland-carrying figure

maṇḍapa hall

mandāraka projection at center of door-sill

maṇḍovara shrine wall

manibandha "jewelled girdle" band around pillar

maṭha monastery

mattālamba seat back

mattavāraṇa seat back

mukhālinda front verandah

mukhamaṇḍapa porch

muktādāma "pearl festoon" motif

mūlaśṛṅga the main *śikhara*

naṣṭaśṛṅgas corner section of a small, secondary *śikhara* carved on the body of the main *śikhara*

nāsikā minor projection from vertical mass

nirandhāra prāsāda sanctuary lacking an interior ambulatory

padma inverted cyma recta

padma vājana plank-edge moulding with lotus motif

pañcabhūma phāṁsanā five-tiered pyramidal roof

pañcāṇḍaka crowned by five *āmalakas*

pañcaśākhā door-frame with five fasciae

parikara image frame

patraśākhā jamb offset with foliate scroll

paṭṭikā plain band in a moulding series

pāda dado

pārśvamaṇḍapa side porch

pārśvālinda side verandah

phalaka abacus

phālanā same as *nāsikā*

phāṁsanā pyramidal roof

pidhāna phalaka top slab

pīṭhikā pedestal

prahāra seat of the *śikhara*

pratīhāra attendant figure

pratikarṇa secondary offset next to corner

pratiratha secondary offset; *anuratha*

prāggrīvā pillared portico

raṅgamaṇḍapa hall for theatrical performances

ratha buttress

rathikā framed panel

rathikābimba image within a *rathikā*

ratna jewelled lozenge motif

ratnapaṭṭa band with lozenges

ratnaśākhā jamb with lozenges

rājasenaka a wide fillet

rekhā curvature

Rucaka the square, plain order

rūpastambha central, pilaster-like jamb bearing figures

sajāla latticed

salilāntara a vertical recess

samatala flat

saṅghāṭa composite

saptāyatana shrine with six subsidiary shrines

sāubhāgyapaṭṭa intermediate lintel member

sāndhara prāsāda sanctuary with an interior ambulatory

skandha vedī top platform of a *śikhara* trunk

stūpi finial

stūpikā finial

ṣaḍabhuma six-tiered

ṣaḍatala vimāna six-tiered sanctuary

śākhā door jamb

śālā nave; or miniature rectangular shrine with wagon-vault roof

śekharī multi-towered

śikhara tower

śṛṅga miniature *latina śikhara*

śuddha pure

śukanāsa antefix to fronton of spire

śūrasenaka trefoil *caitya* dormer

śūrpa an inverted cyma recta moulding

śūrpaskandha	a kind of shoulder course
talacchanda	ground plan
taraṅga	roll moulding
tala	storey
tāṭikā	dish moulding of Dravidian column
ṭhakarikā	*caitya* window motif
toraṇa	gateway
tribhūma	three-tiered pyramidal roof
triguṇasūtra	three-fold chord measure for drawing *rekhā*
triphālanā-ukta	having three minor recesses
triśākhā	door-jamb with three offsets
tritala	same as *tribhūma*
ucchedа	a narrow recessed band
udgama	pediment
upabhadra	subsidiary offset of *bhadra*
upapīṭha	terrace, platform
upāna	plinth
uraḥśṛṅga	a secondary, smaller *śikhara* shown in relief on a face of the main *śikhara*
uttaraṅga	architrave
uttaroṣṭha	abacus
uttara	beam
ūrdhvapadma	upper cyma moulding
vahana	base of a pillar
Vajraka	the octagonal order
vajrakumbha	pot-shaped moulding
valabhī	dentil course in a moulding series
vasantapaṭṭikā	band carved with foliate scroll
vājana	"plank-edge" moulding
vātāyana	ventilator
vedī	plinth
vedikā	balustrade
veṇukośā	curved silhouette of the Nāgara *śikhara*
vimāna vedikā	base of the *śikhara* atop the wall
vitāna	ceiling
vṛtta vājana	curved, "plank-edge" moulding

Fig. 1 Map of Saurāṣṭra.

Fig. 2 Profile projections of Old Temple at Gop, (a) terrace, *jagatī*; (b) base, *adhisthāna*.

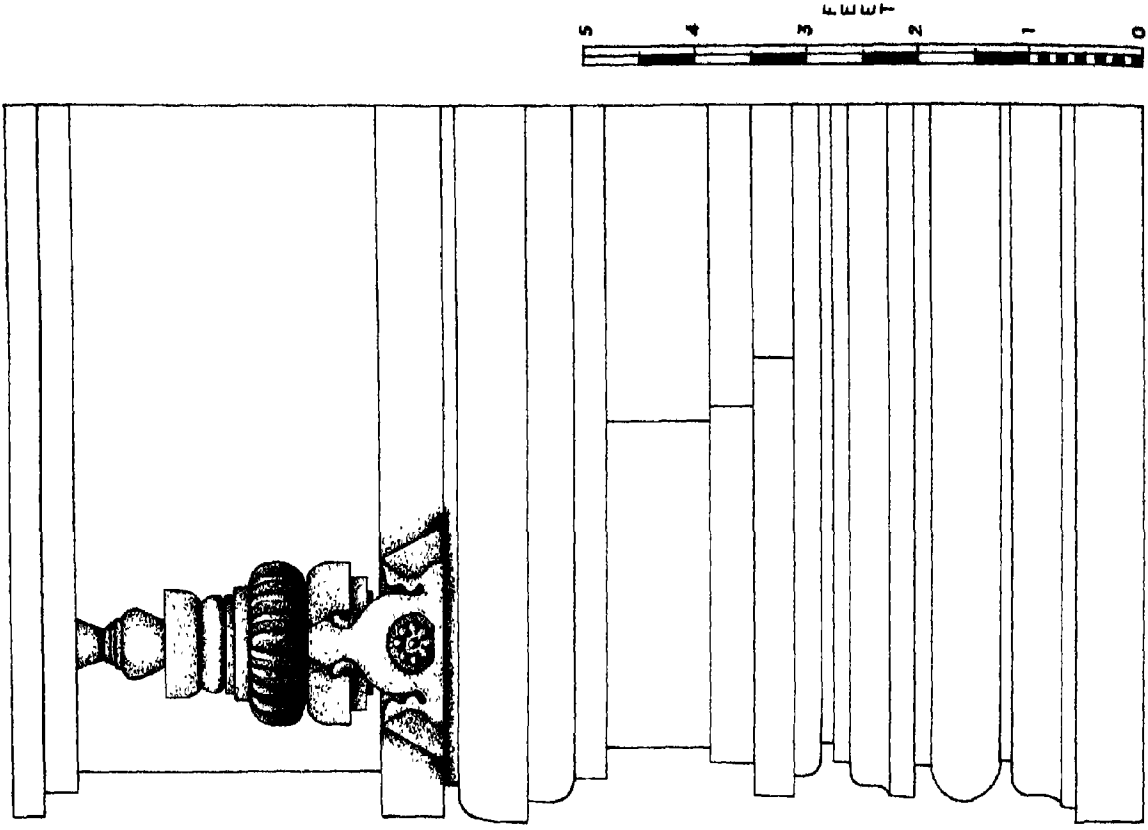
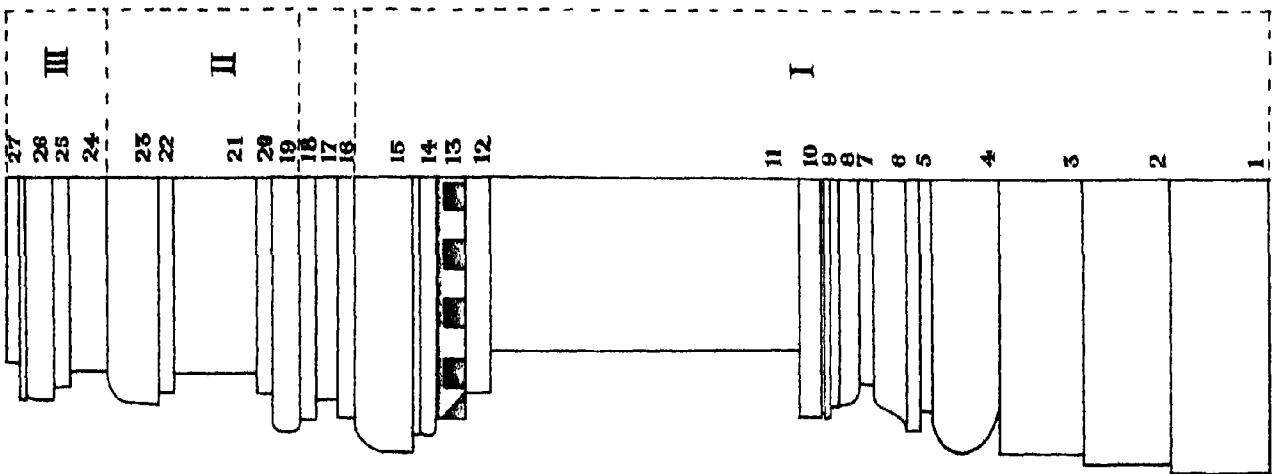



Fig. 6 Pedestal (*pīṭha*) and *kaṭi* of Koteśvara temple near Kālāvad.

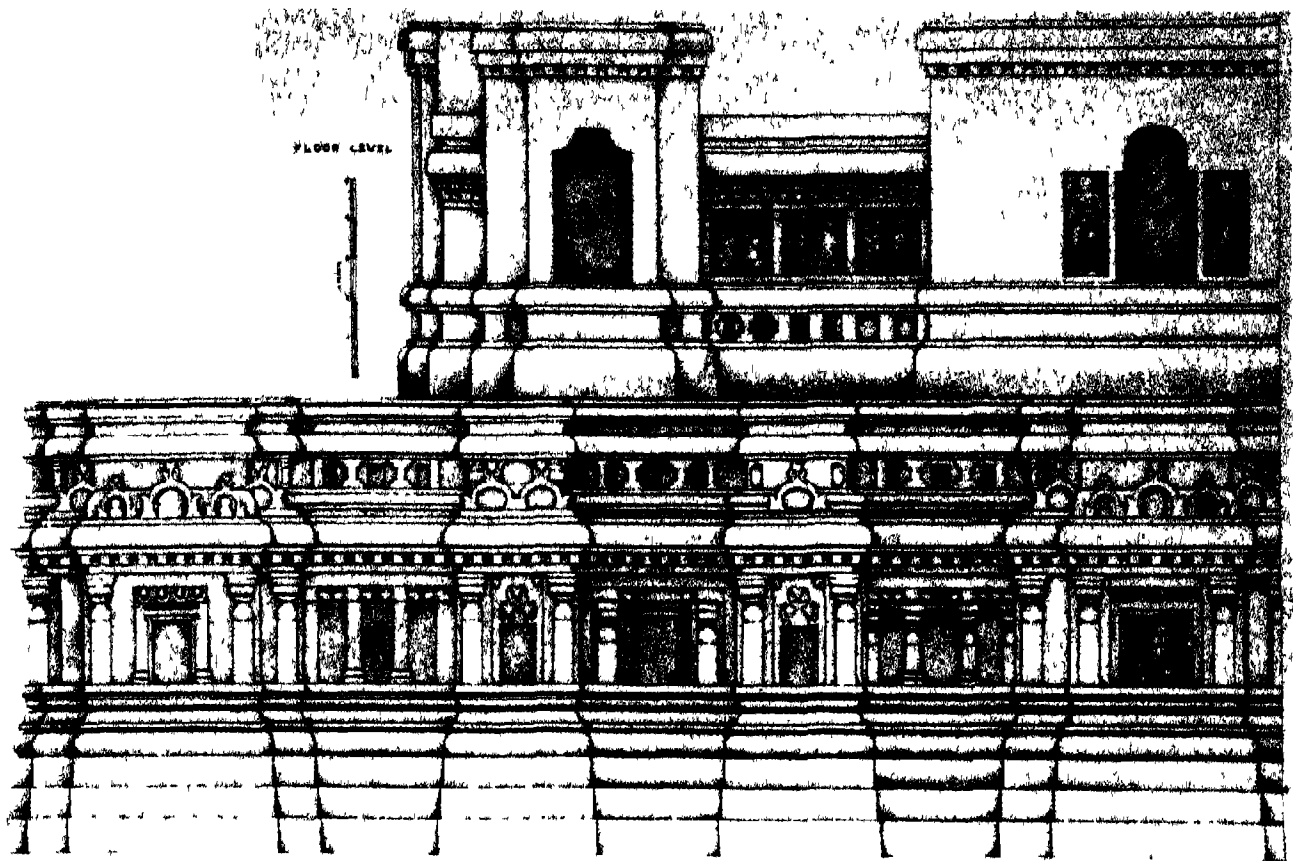



Fig. 3 Old Temple at Gop, elevation

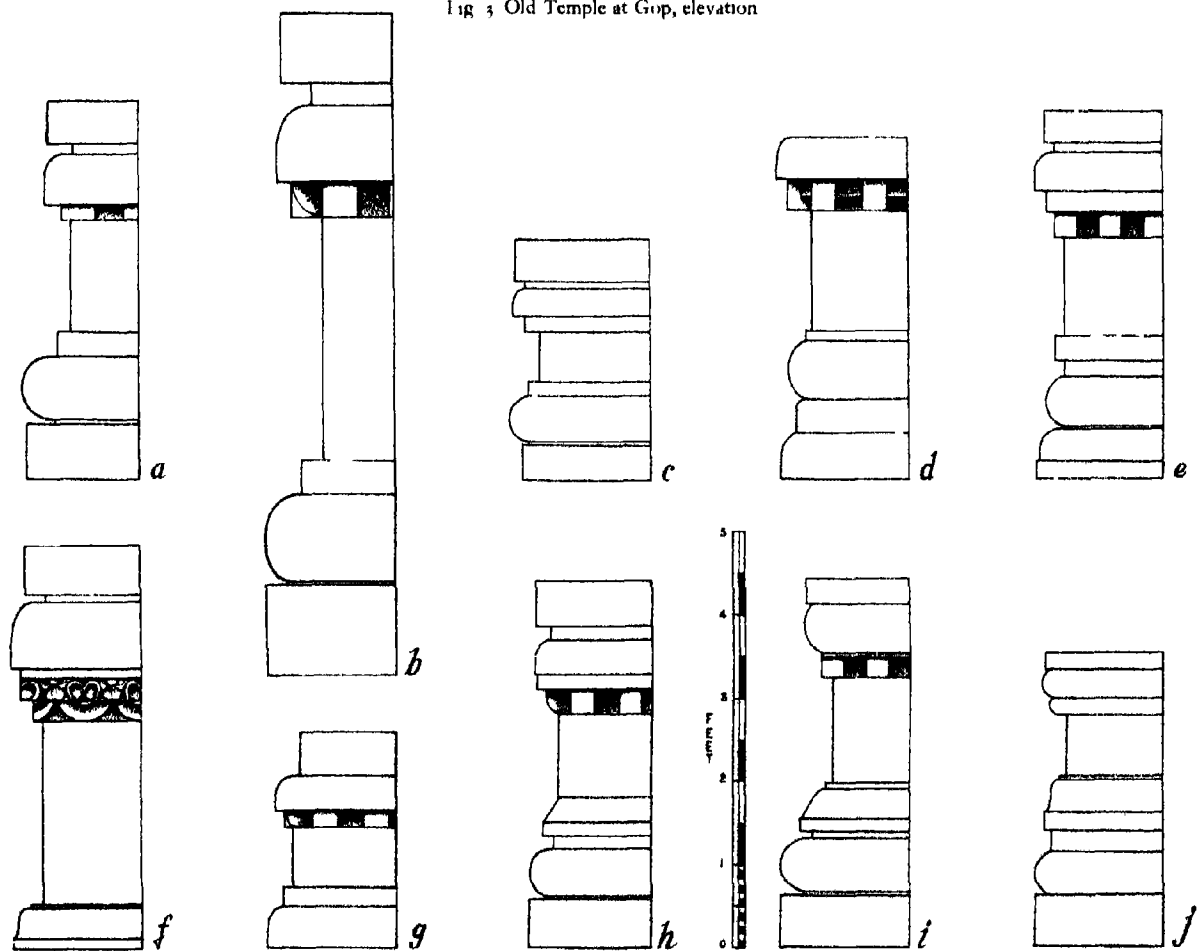



Fig. 4 Base mouldings of early Maitraka temples. (a) Viṣṇu temple, Kadvār; (b) Bileśvara temple, (c) Bhānsarā temple no. 1, (d) Old Temple, Visāvāḍa, (e) Vindhyavāsinī temple, Śrīnagara; (f) Gāyatrī temple, Pasnāvaḍā, (g) Khimeśvara temple no. 3, (h) Añjanī mātā temple, Oḍadar; (i) Sun temple, Śrīnagara, (j) Square Śiva temple, Śrīnagara.

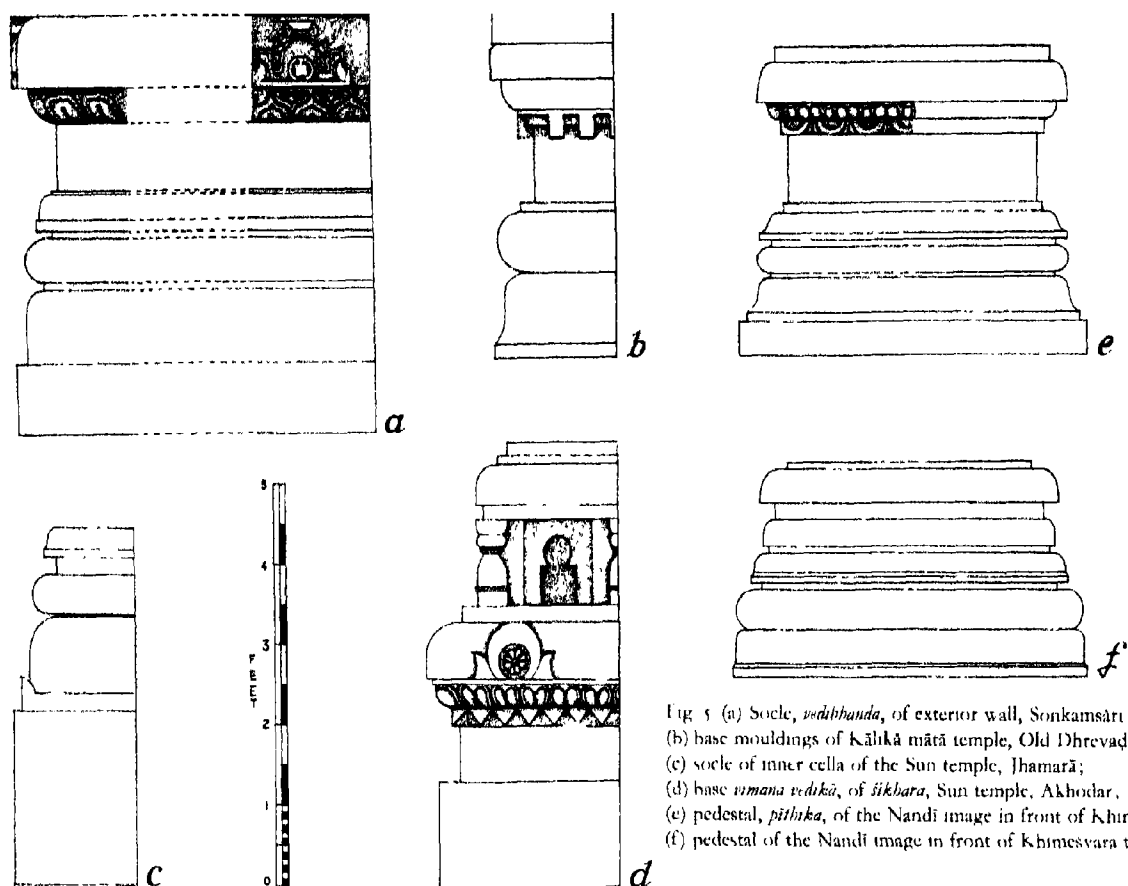



Fig. 5 (a) Socle, *vedibbanda*, of exterior wall, Sonkamsari temple no. 1;
(b) base mouldings of Kālikā mātā temple, Old Dhrevaḍ,
(c) socle of inner cella of the Sun temple, Jhamarā;
(d) base *vimana vedikā*, of *śikhara*, Sun temple, Akhodar,
(e) pedestal, *pīthika*, of the Nandī image in front of Khimeśvara temple no. 1,
(f) pedestal of the Nandī image in front of Khimeśvara temple no. 3.

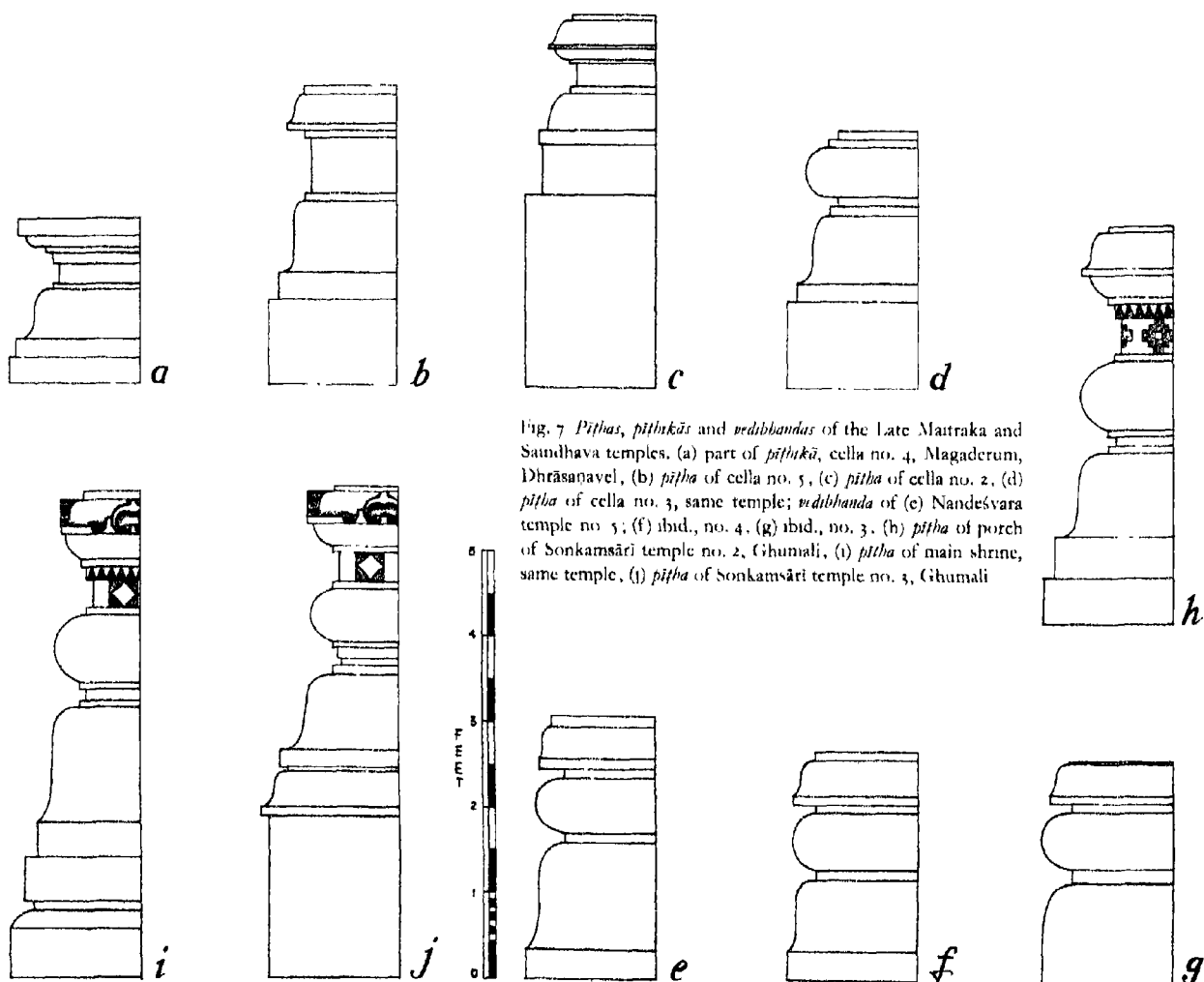



Fig. 7 *Pīṭhas*, *pīṭhikās* and *vedibbandas* of the Late Maitraka and Saindhava temples. (a) part of *pīṭhikā*, cella no. 4, Magaderum, Dhrāsaṇavel, (b) *pīṭha* of cella no. 5, (c) *pīṭha* of cella no. 2, (d) *pīṭha* of cella no. 3, same temple; *vedibhanda* of (e) Nandeśvara temple no. 5; (f) ibid., no. 4, (g) ibid., no. 3. (h) *pīṭha* of porch of Sonkamsārī temple no. 2, Ghumali, (i) *pīṭha* of main shrine, same temple, (j) *pīṭha* of Sonkamsārī temple no. 3, Ghumali

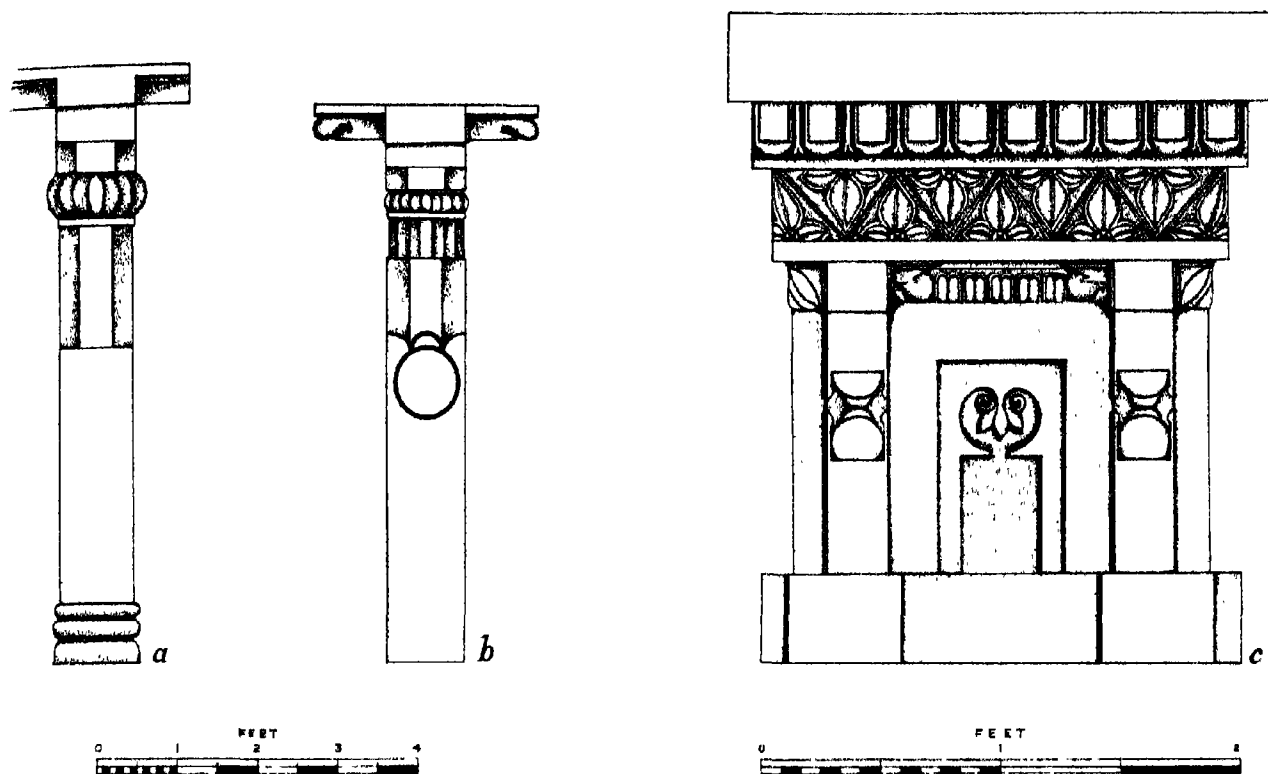



Fig. 8 Pilasters, *kudyastambha*, of inner cellas of (a) Khimesvara temple no. 1; (b) ibid. no. 2, (c) carved basement of one of two *karnakūṭas* now sheltered in the closed hall of Khimesvara temple no. 6

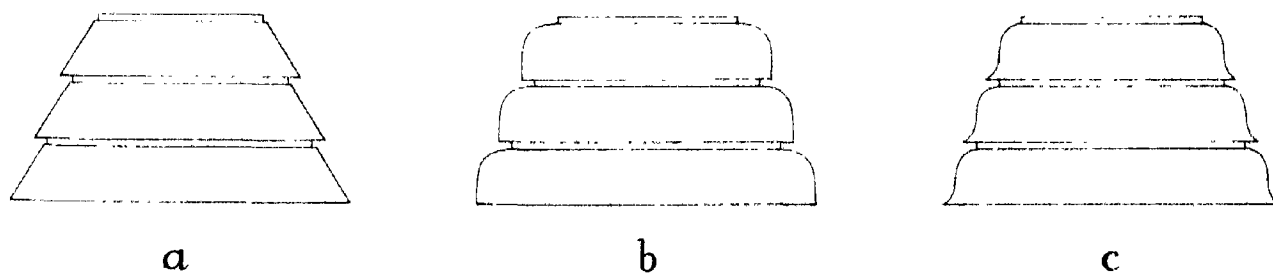



Fig. 9 The three basic types of Phāmsākāra superstructures of the Maitraka temples. (a) *kṣoṇi* type with penthouse-like profile; (b) *kapota*, roll cornice; (c) cyma cornice, *kapotapālikā*.

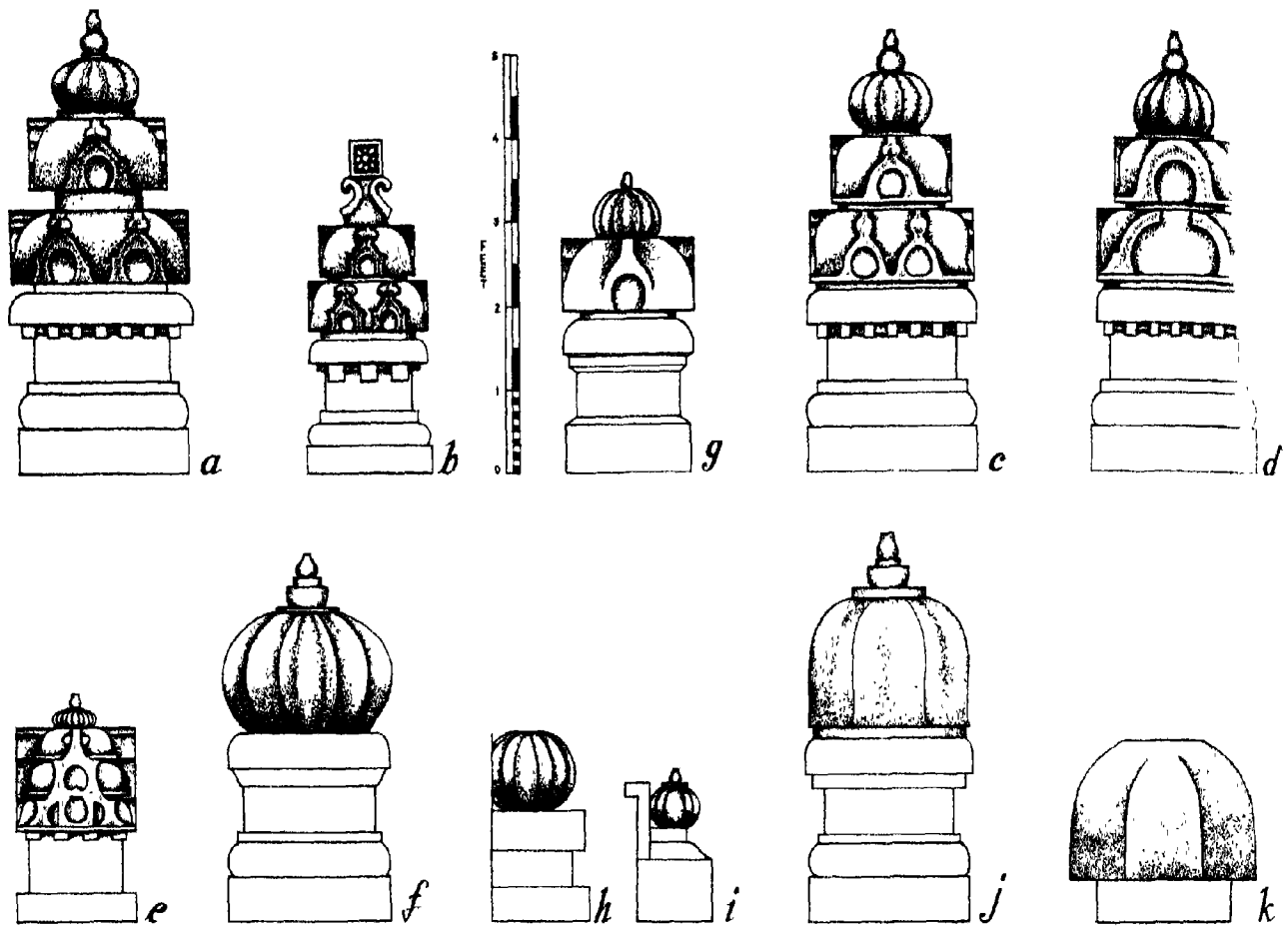



Fig. 10 Corner turrets, *karṇakūṭas*, on the *vimānas* of the Pseudo-Drāviḍic and Neo-Drāviḍic groups of temples, Maitraka period. (a) Bileśvara temple, first *tala* of *vimāna*, (b) Khimeśvara temple no. 1; (c) Bhileśvara temple, second *tala*, (d) ibid, third *tala*; (e) Sonkaṁsāri temple no. 1, Ghumali, first *tala*; (f) Bhileśvara temple, fourth *tala*; (g) Bhānaśarā temple no. 2, first *tala*; (h) Old temple, Piṇḍārā, second *tala*, (i) Bhānaśarā temple no. 1, first *tala*; (j) Bileśvara temple, fifth *tala*; (k) Bhānasarā temple no. 5, octagonal cupola on *vimāna*.

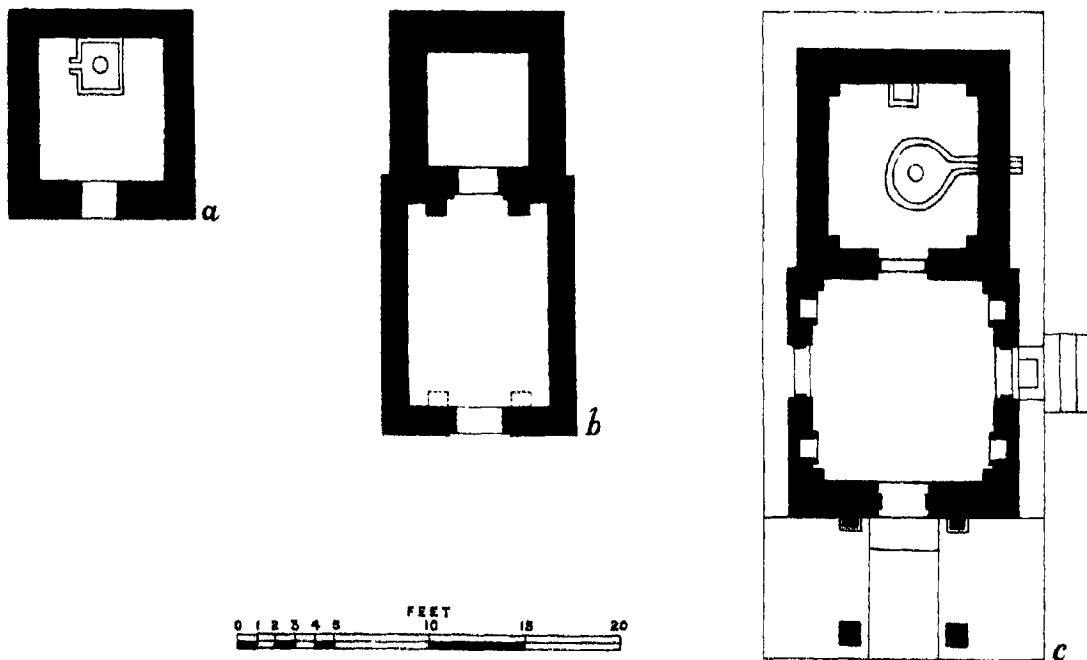



Fig. 11 (a) Bhānasarā temple no. 4; (b) Old temple, Savni; (c) Cheleśvara Mahādeva temple, Mehvāsā.

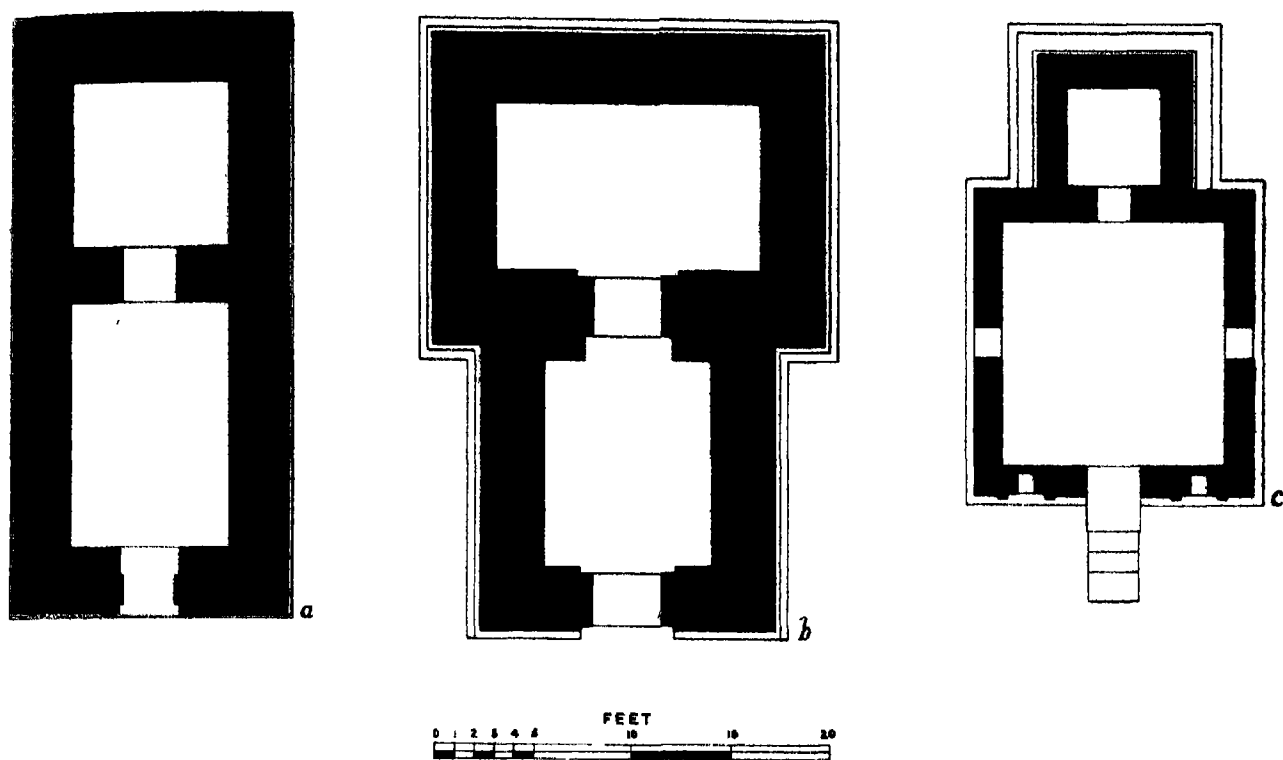



Fig. 12 (a) Sonkaṁsāri temple no. 5, Ghumali; (b) Old temple, Kaḷasār; (c) Khimeśvara temple no. 5.

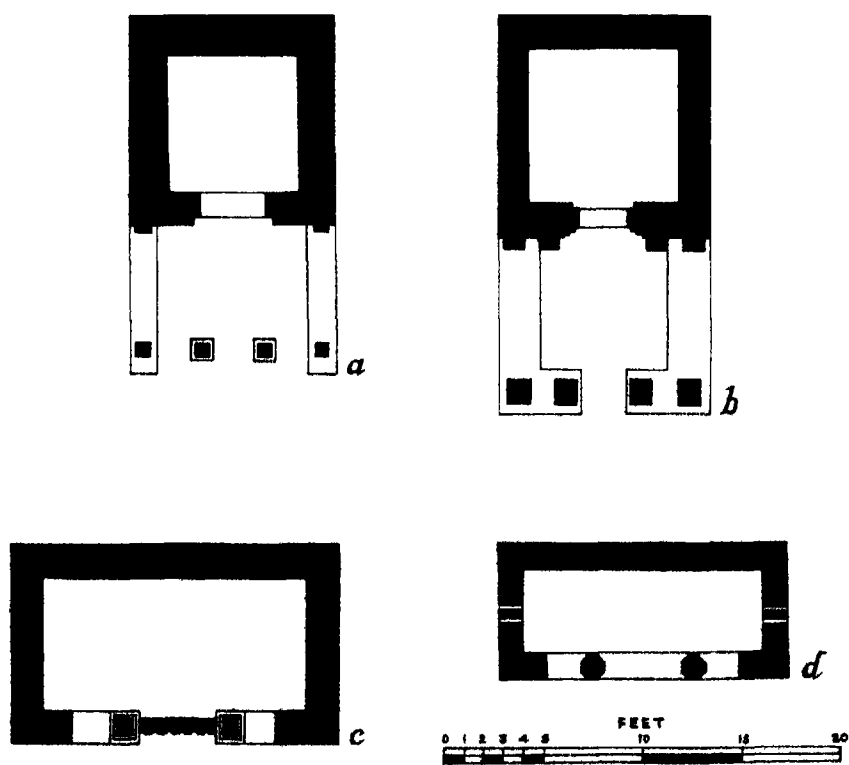



Fig. 13 (a) Khimeśvara temple no. 7; (b) Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple, Kinderkheḍā;
(c) Saptamātṛkā temple, Boricā; (d) Saptamātṛkā temple, Pātā.

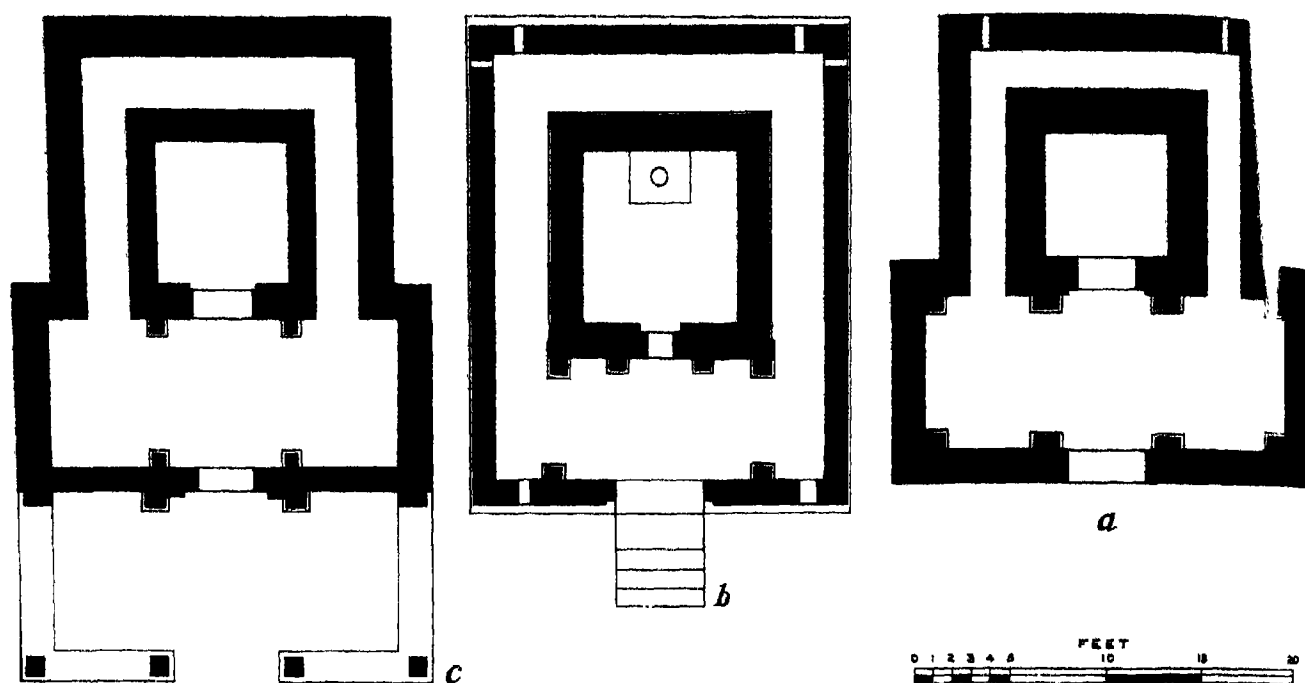



Fig. 14 Ground plans of Maitraka temples. (a) Bhāṇasarā no. 5, (b) Khimeśvara no. 2; (c) Pīṭhaḍ mātā temple, Baḷej.

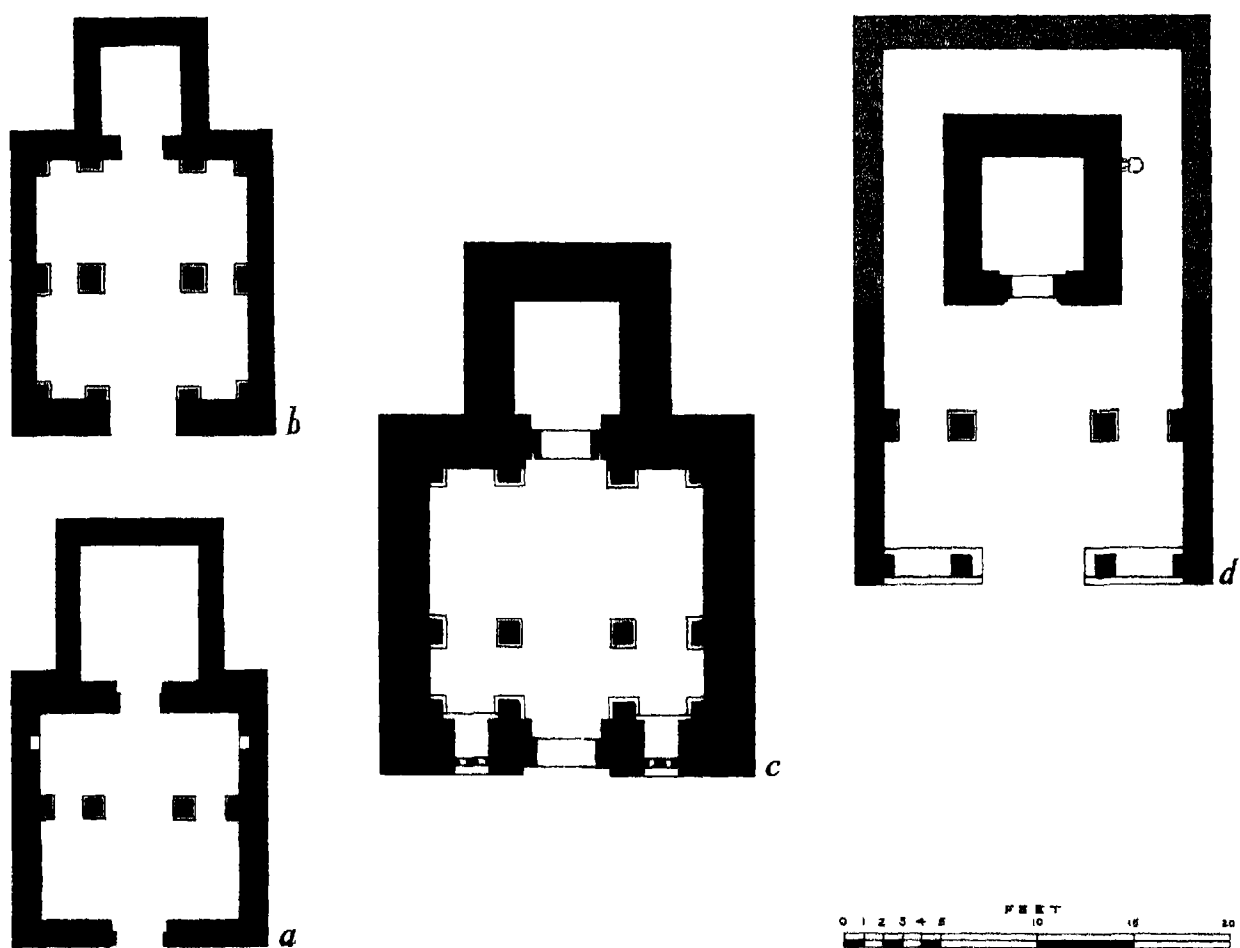



Fig. 17 Ground plans of Maitraka temples: (a) Śiva temple, Visāvāḍā; (b) Nāga temple, Pasnāvaḍā; (c) Sun temple, same, (d) Sun temple, Jhamarā.

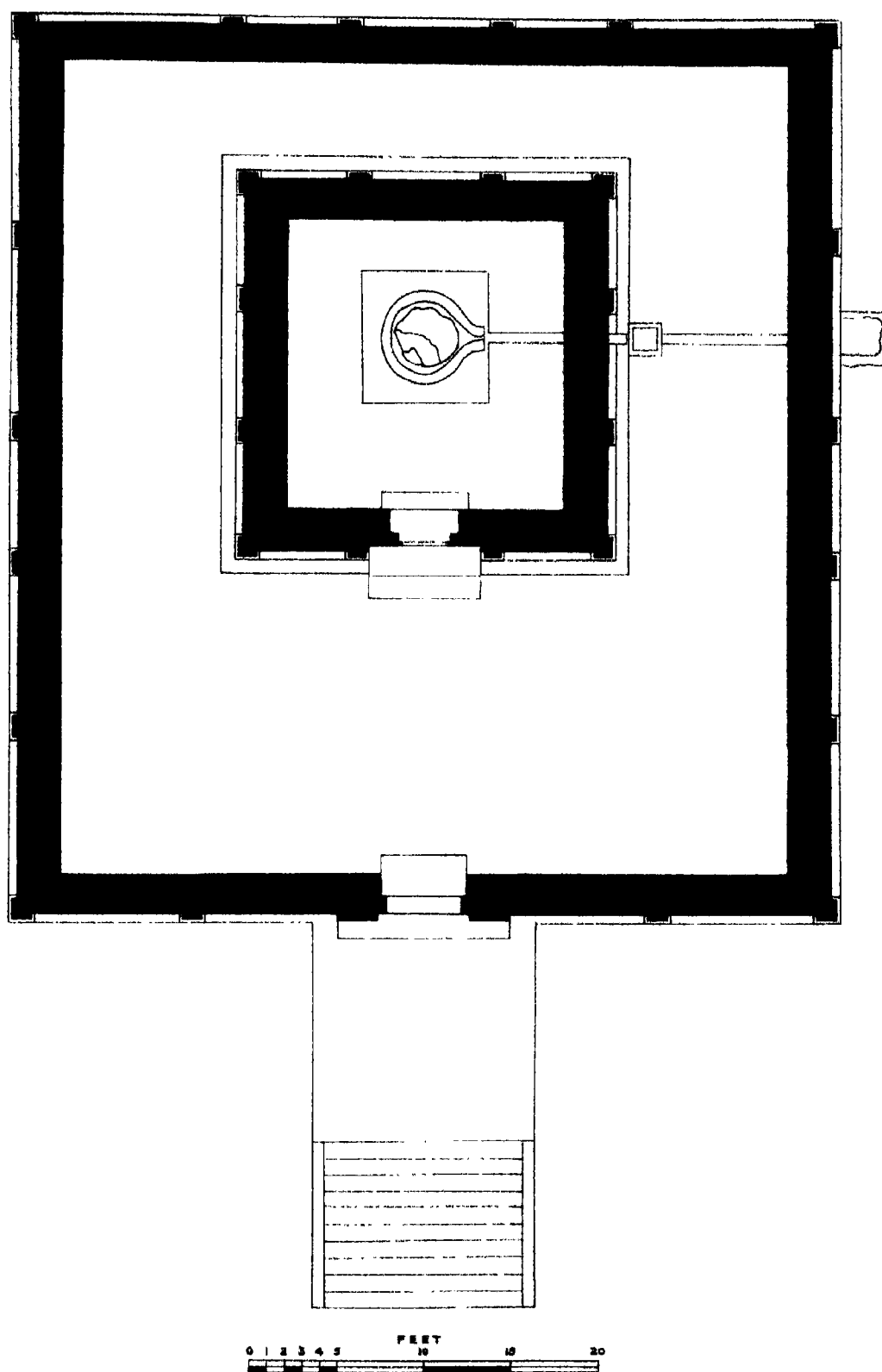



Fig. 15 Ground plan of Bileśvara temple.

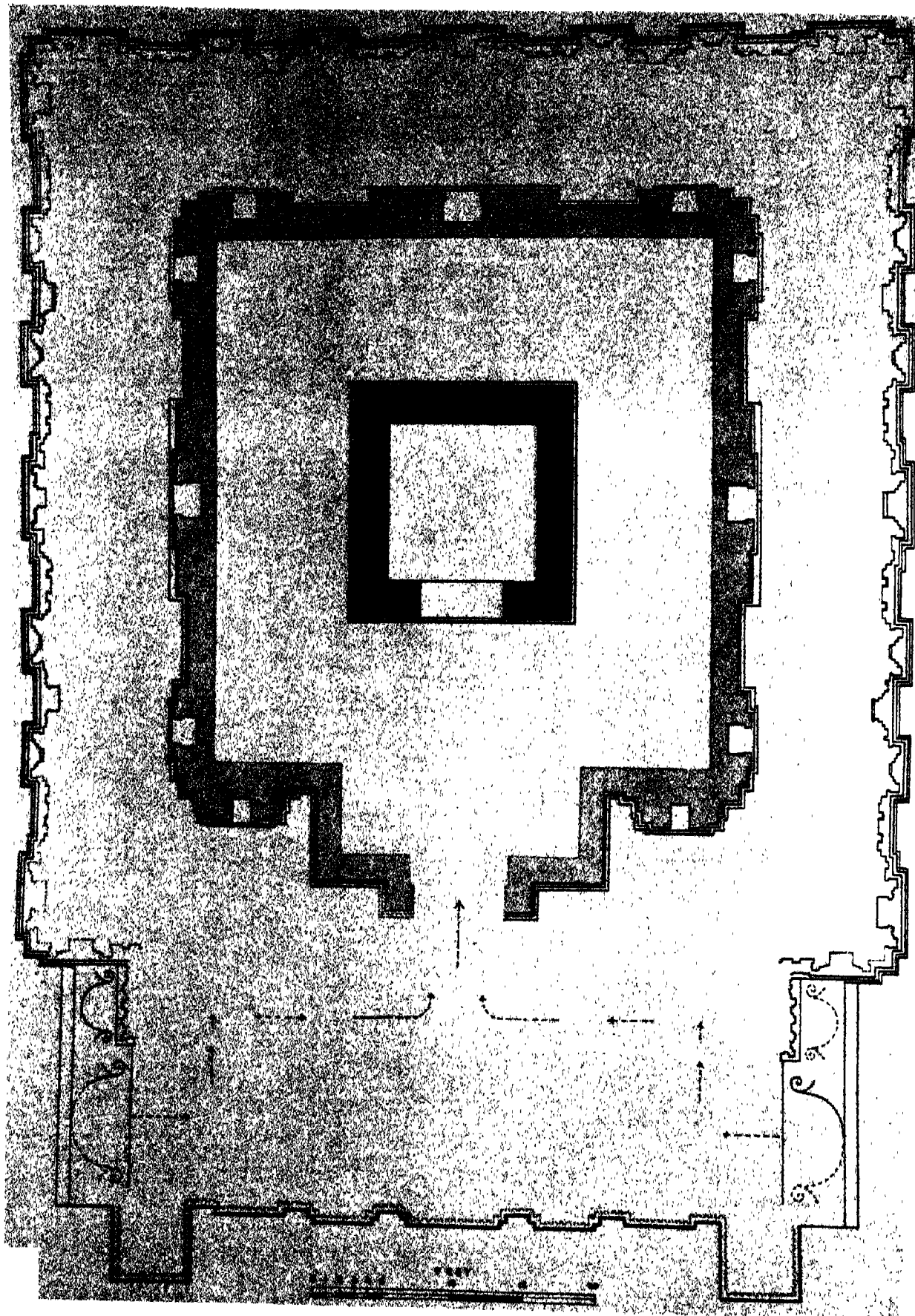



Fig. 16 Ground plan of Old temple, Gop.

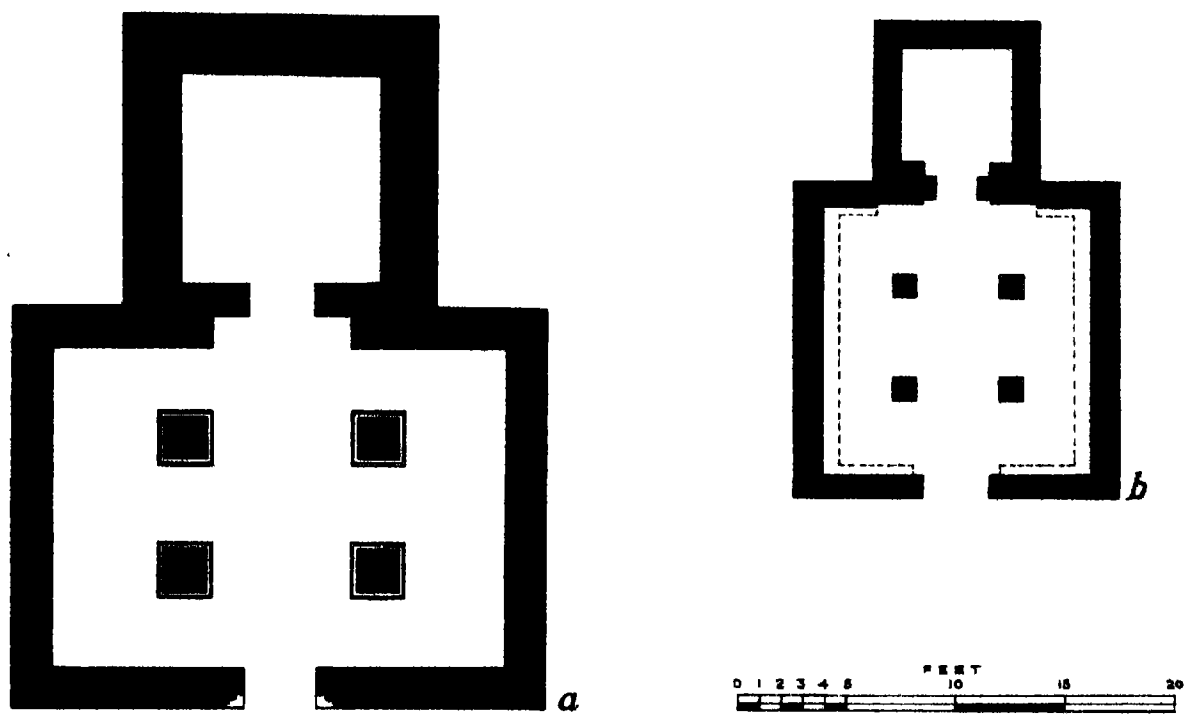



Fig. 18 Ground plans of Maitraka temples: (a) Kothā temple, Baḷej;
(b) Cāmuṇḍā temple, Kuchaḍī.

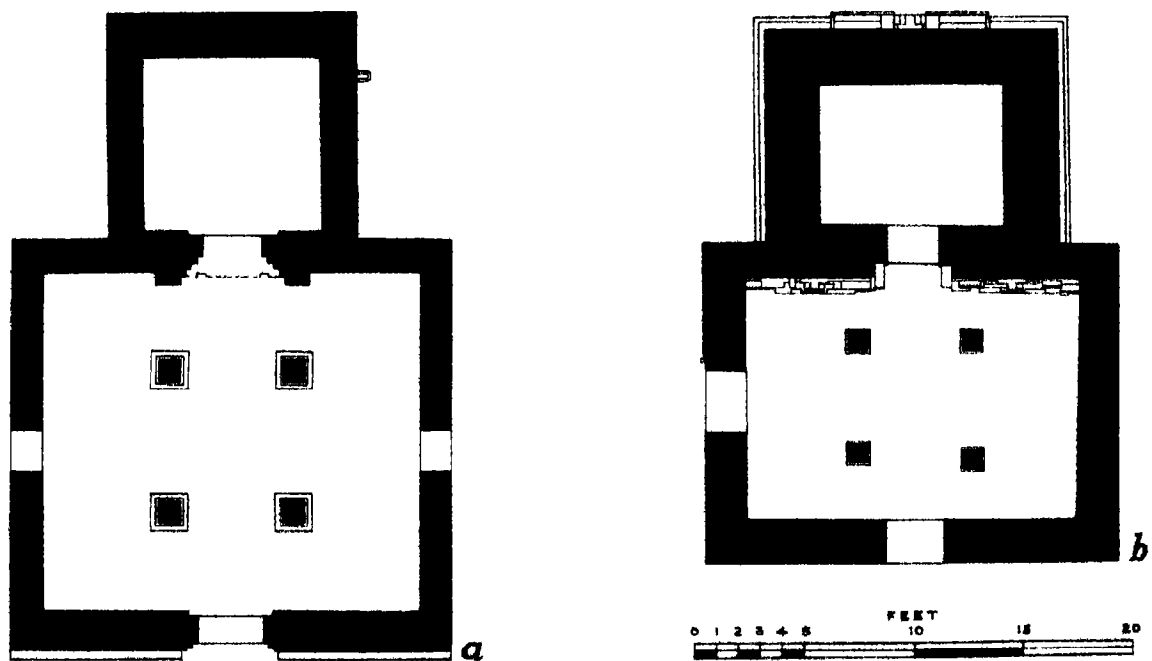



Fig. 19 Ground plans of Maitraka temples: (a) Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple, Degām;
(b) Khimeśvara temple no. 6.

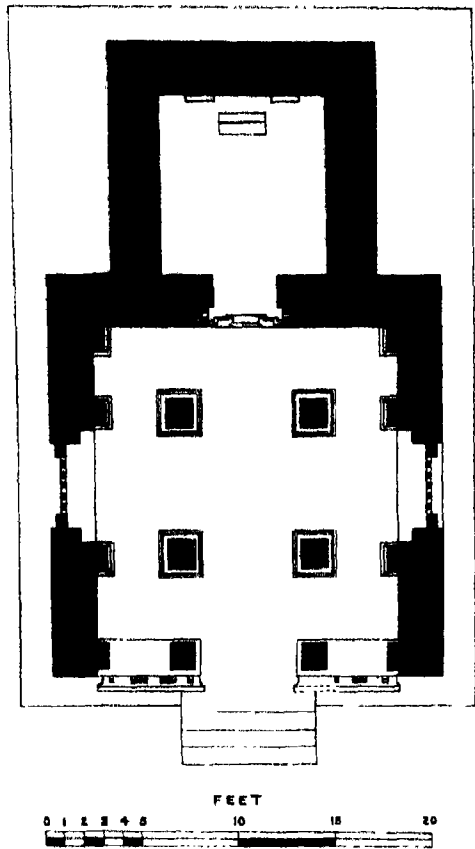



Fig. 20 Ground plan of Sun temple, Pātā.

Fig. 22 Ground plan of Kadvār temple.

Fig. 21 Ground plan of Kālikā mātā temple, Dhrāsaṇavel.

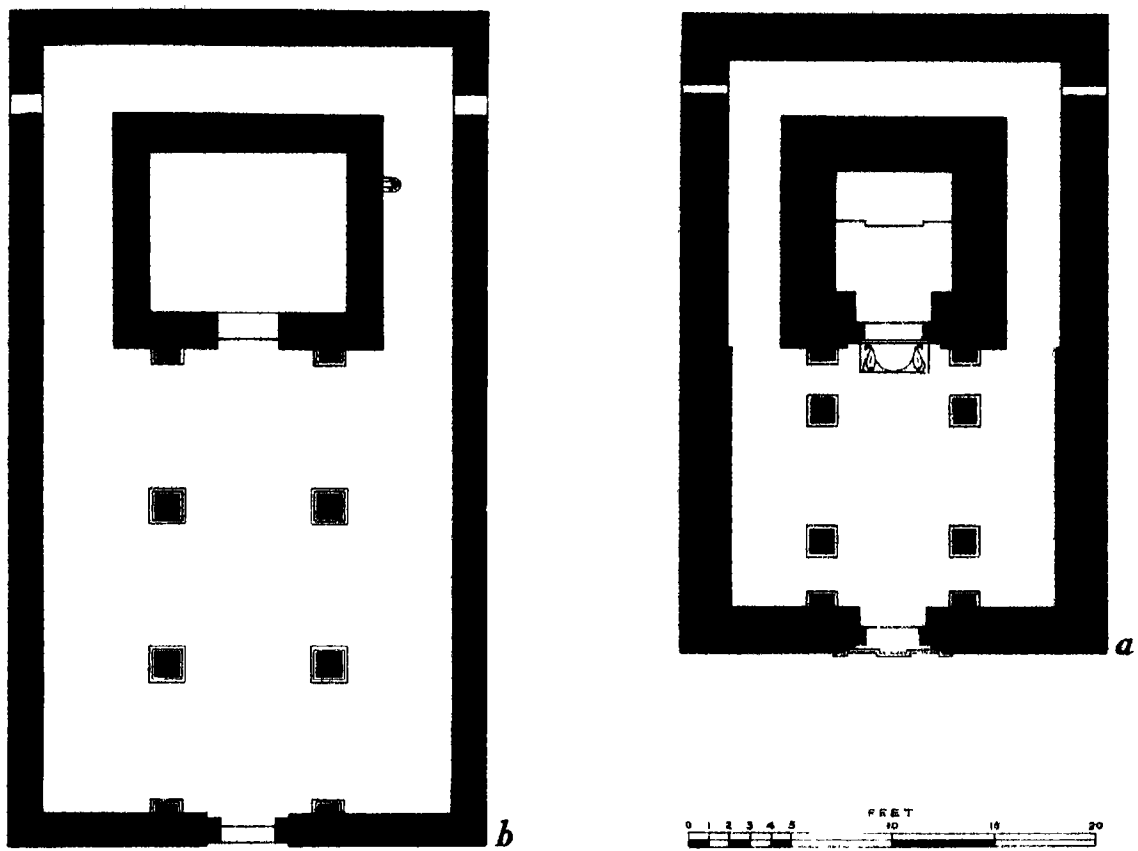



Fig. 23 Ground plans of Maitraka temples: (a) Sun temple, Sūtrāpāḍā; (b) Sun temple, Akhodar.

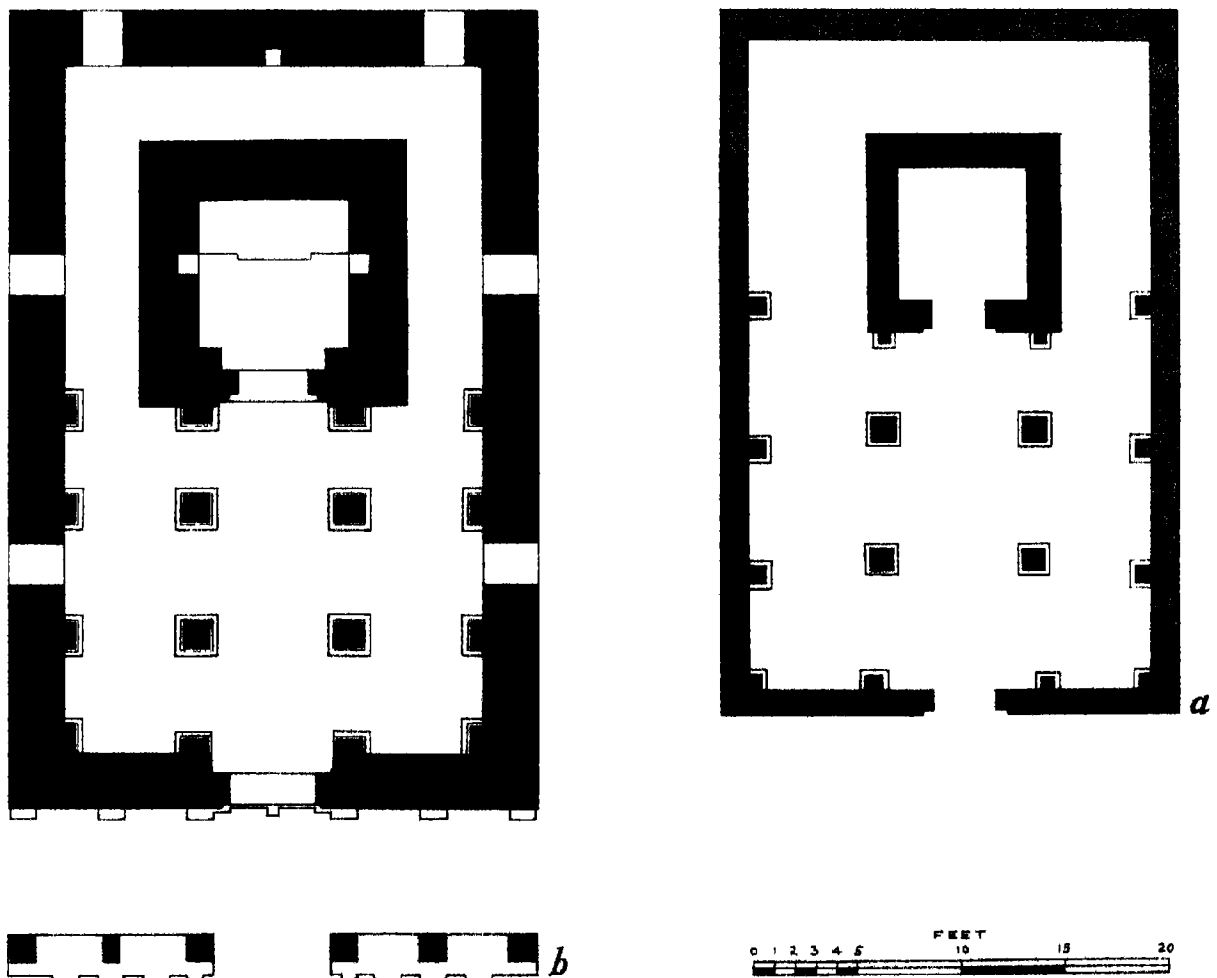



Fig. 24 Ground plans of Maitraka temples: (a) Añjanī mātā temple near Chāyā, (b) Suvarnatīrtha temple near Dvārakā.

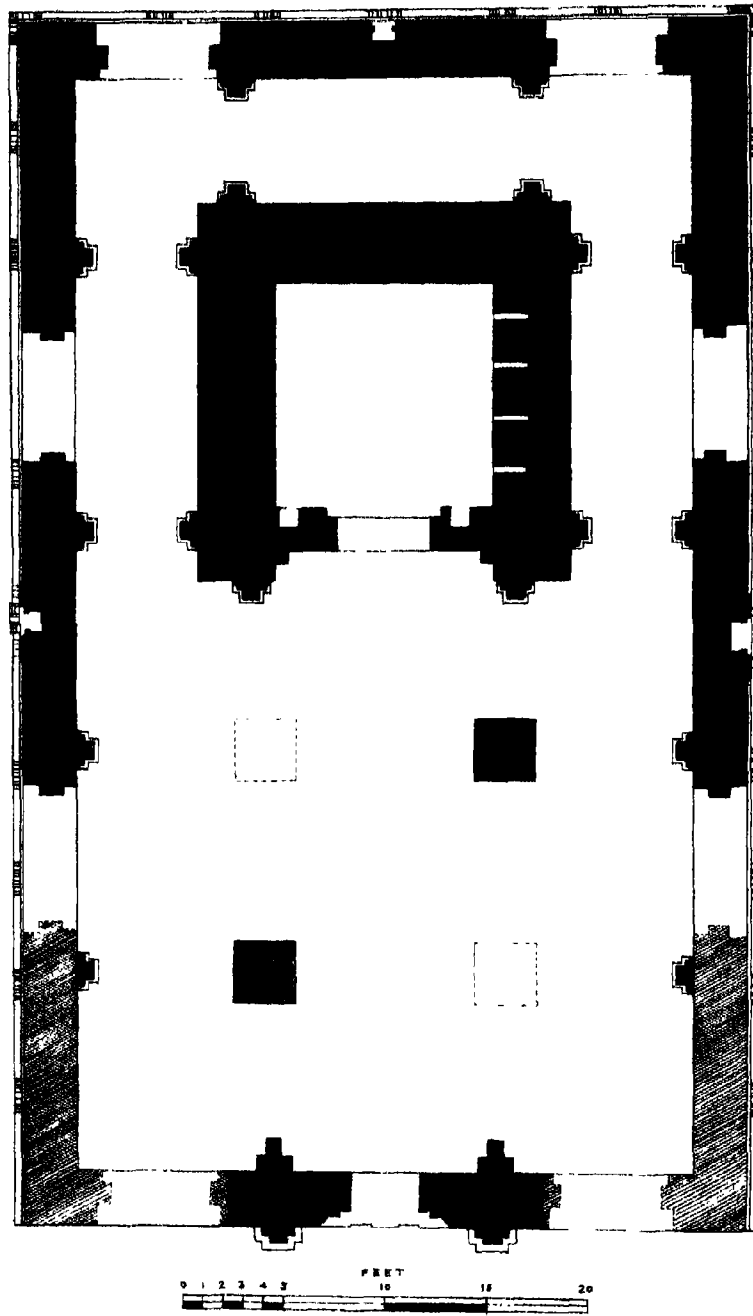



Fig. 25 Ground plan of Sonkamsārī temple no. 1, Ghumali

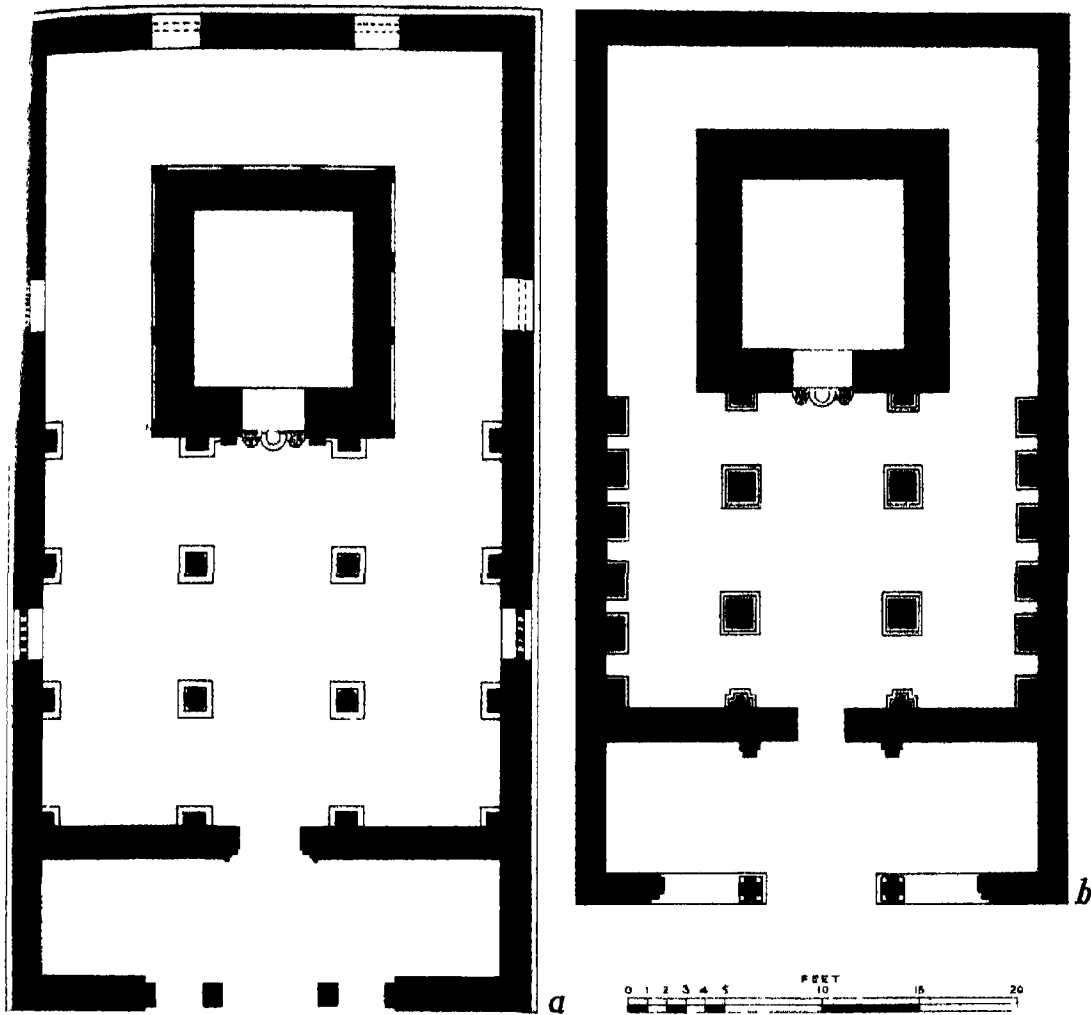



Fig. 26 Ground plans of Maitraka temples: (a) Khimeśvara no. 1; (b) Vindhyavāsinī, Śrīnagara.

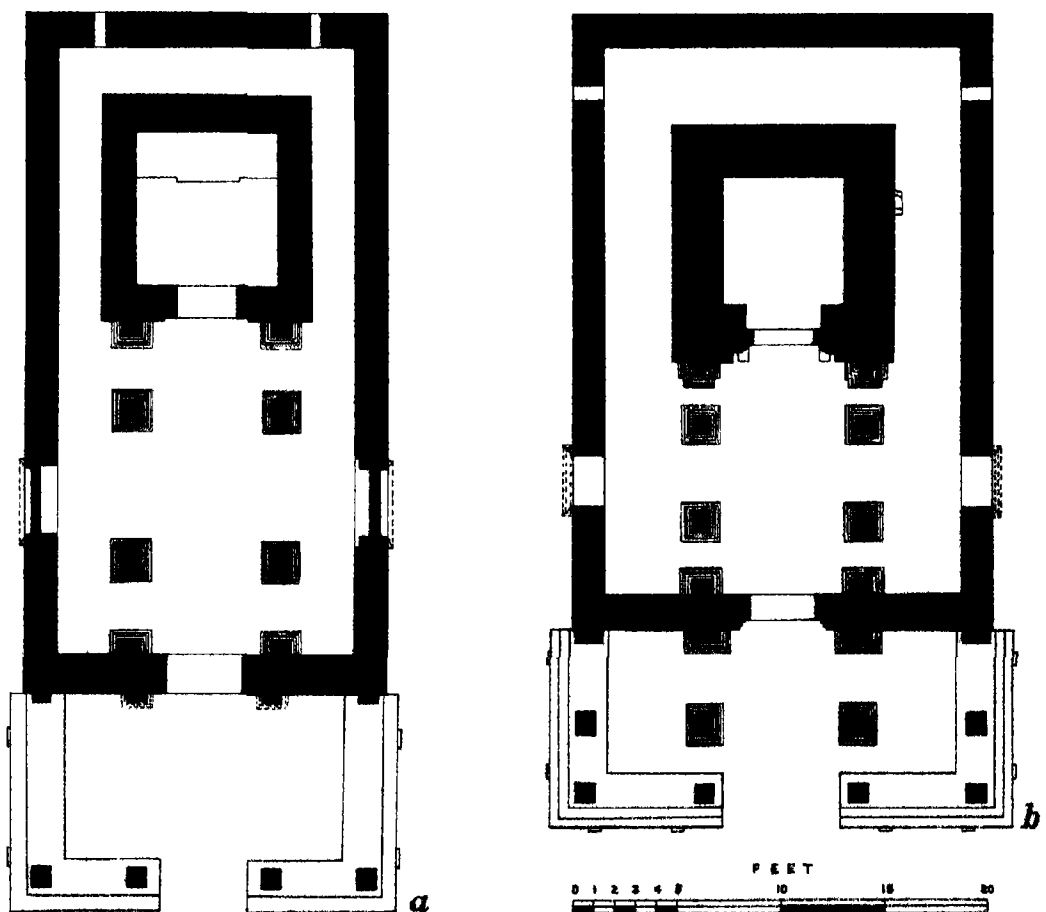



Fig. 27 Ground plans of Maitraka temples: (a) Sun temple, Kinder-kheḍā; (b) Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple near Bokhirā.

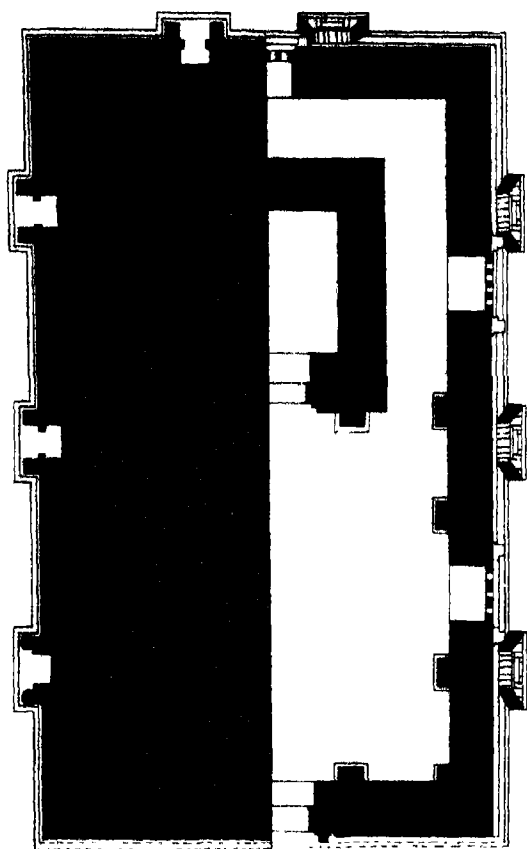



Fig. 28 Ground plan of Gāyatrī temple, Pasnāvaḍā (late Maitraka period).

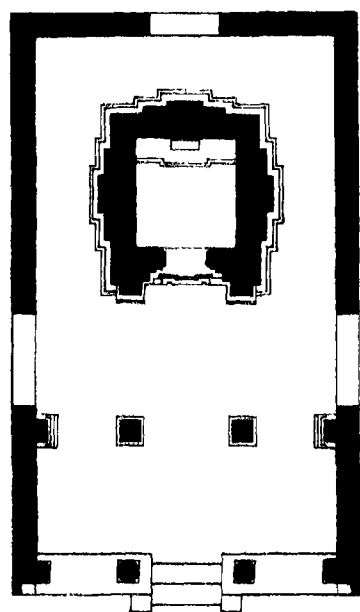
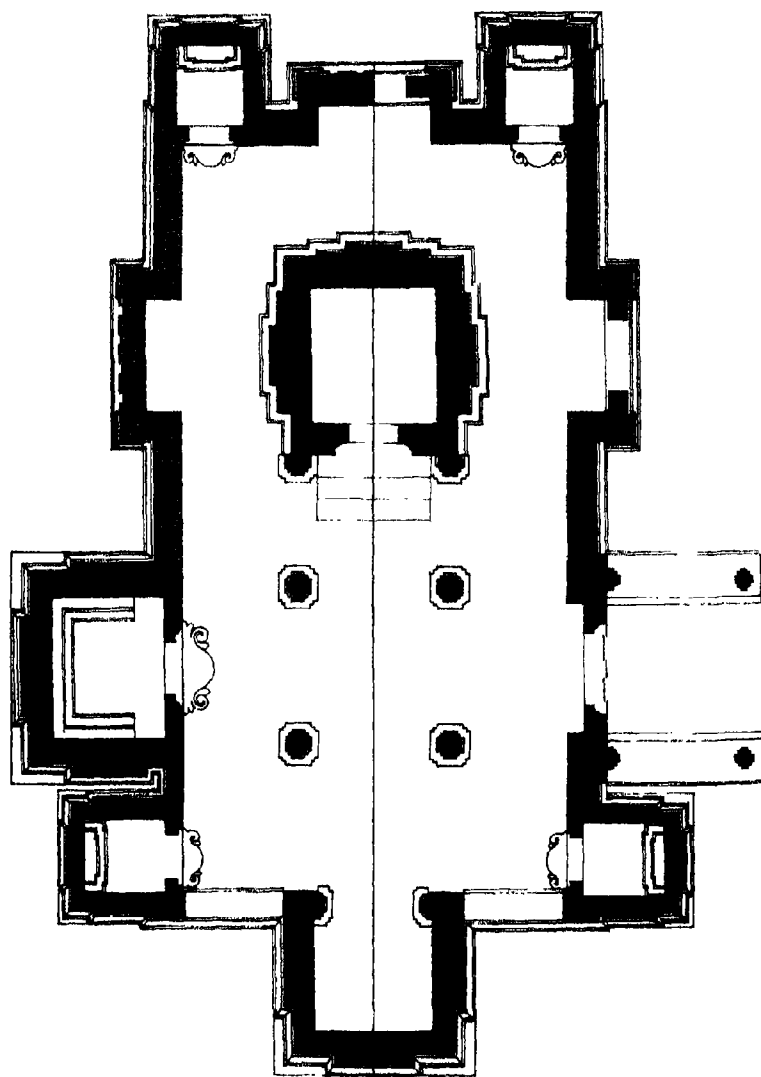



Fig. 30 Rāndal mātā temple, Visāvāḍā.

Fig. 32 Ground plan of Magaḍerum, Dhrāsanavel (early Saindhava period).

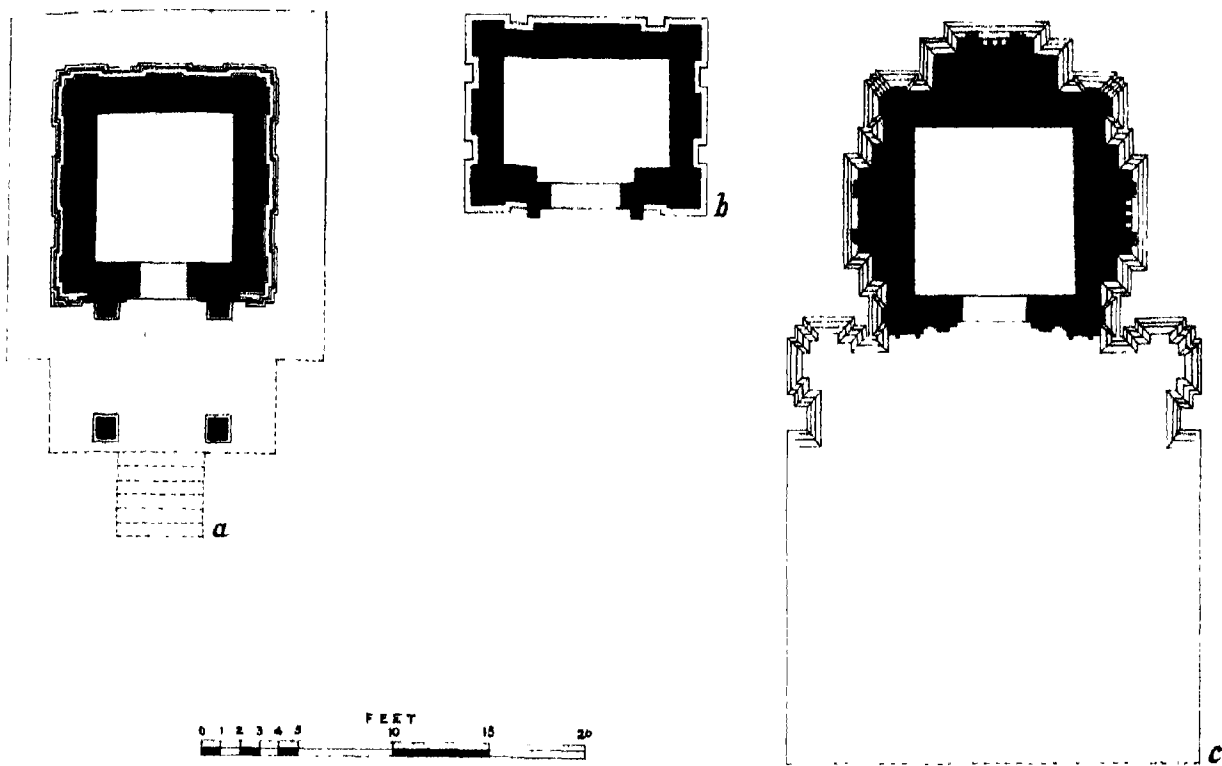



Fig. 29 Ground plans of late Maitraka and Saindhava period temples: (a) Koteśvara, near Kālāvaḍ, (b) Nandeśvara no. 3 (Saptamātṛkā temple), (c) Sonkamsāri no. 3, Ghumali.

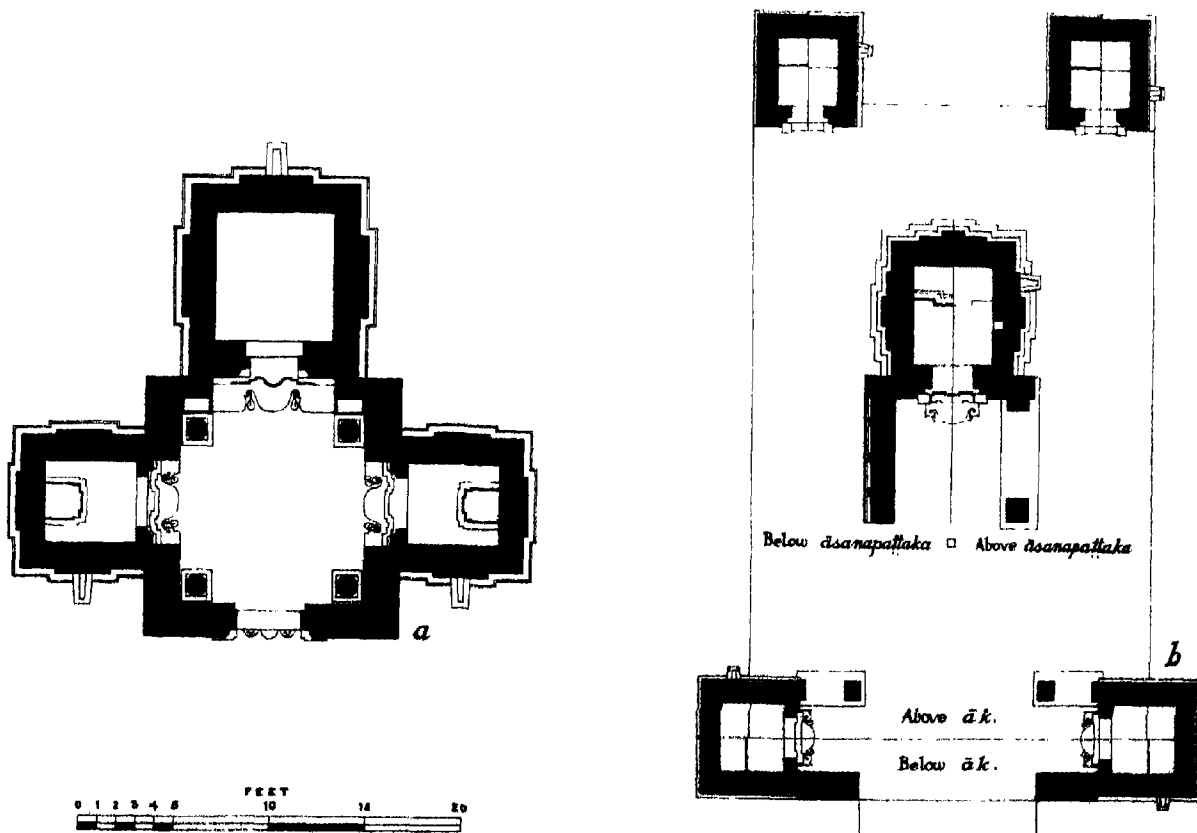



Fig. 31 Ground plans of Saindhava temples: (a) Triple shrine, Sarmā; (b) Pañcāyatana temple, Pachtar.

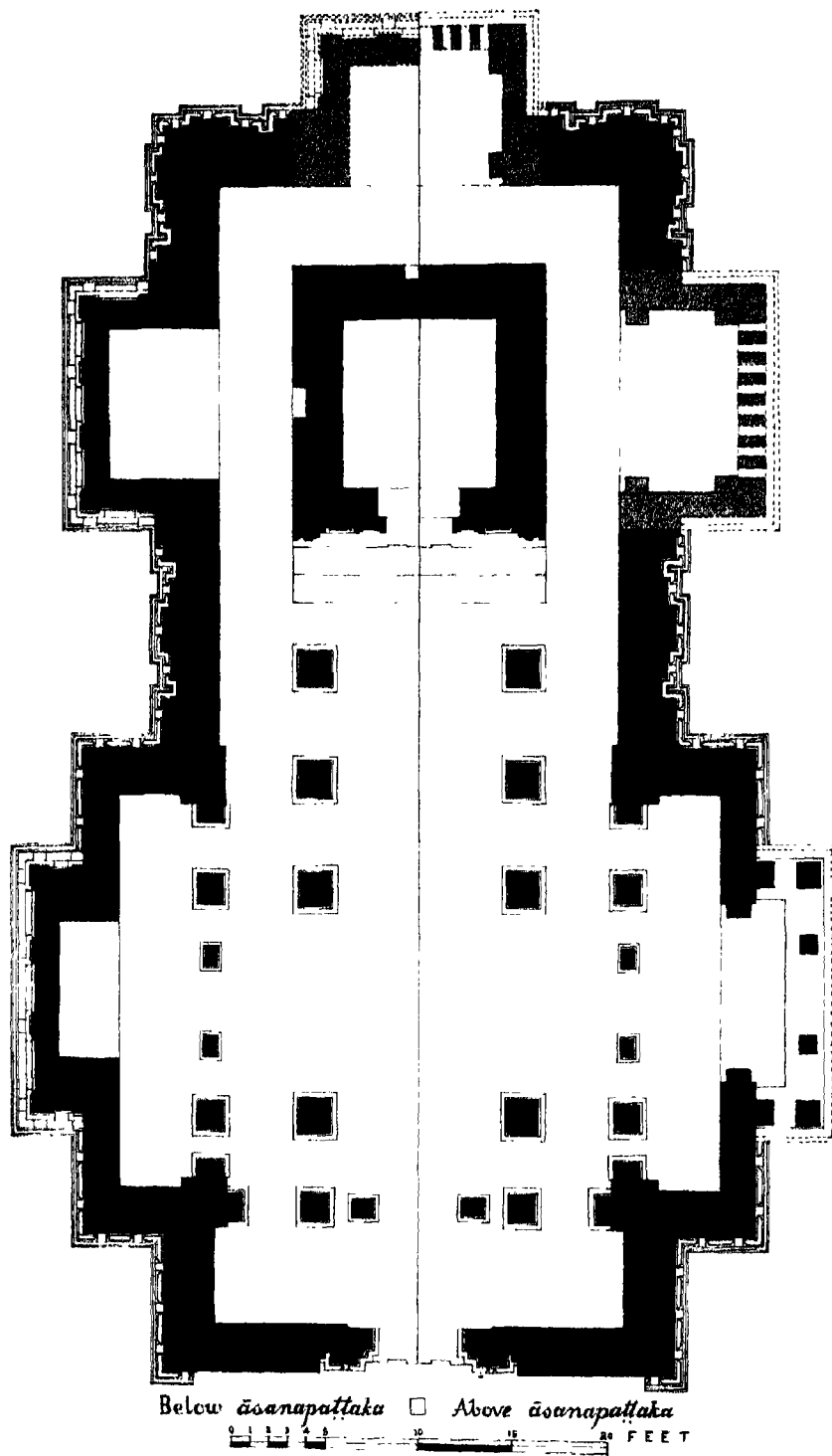



Fig. 33 Ground plan of Bhimadevala near Prāci (Saindhava period)

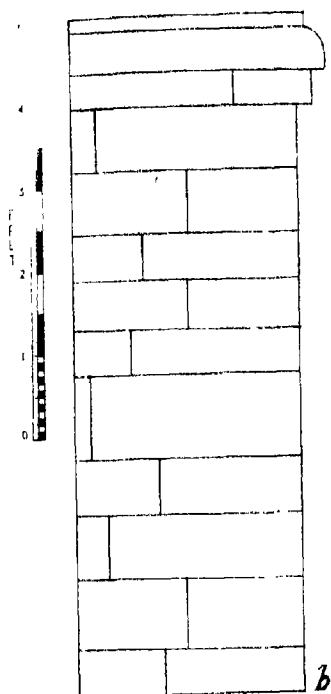



Fig. 35 (b) elevation

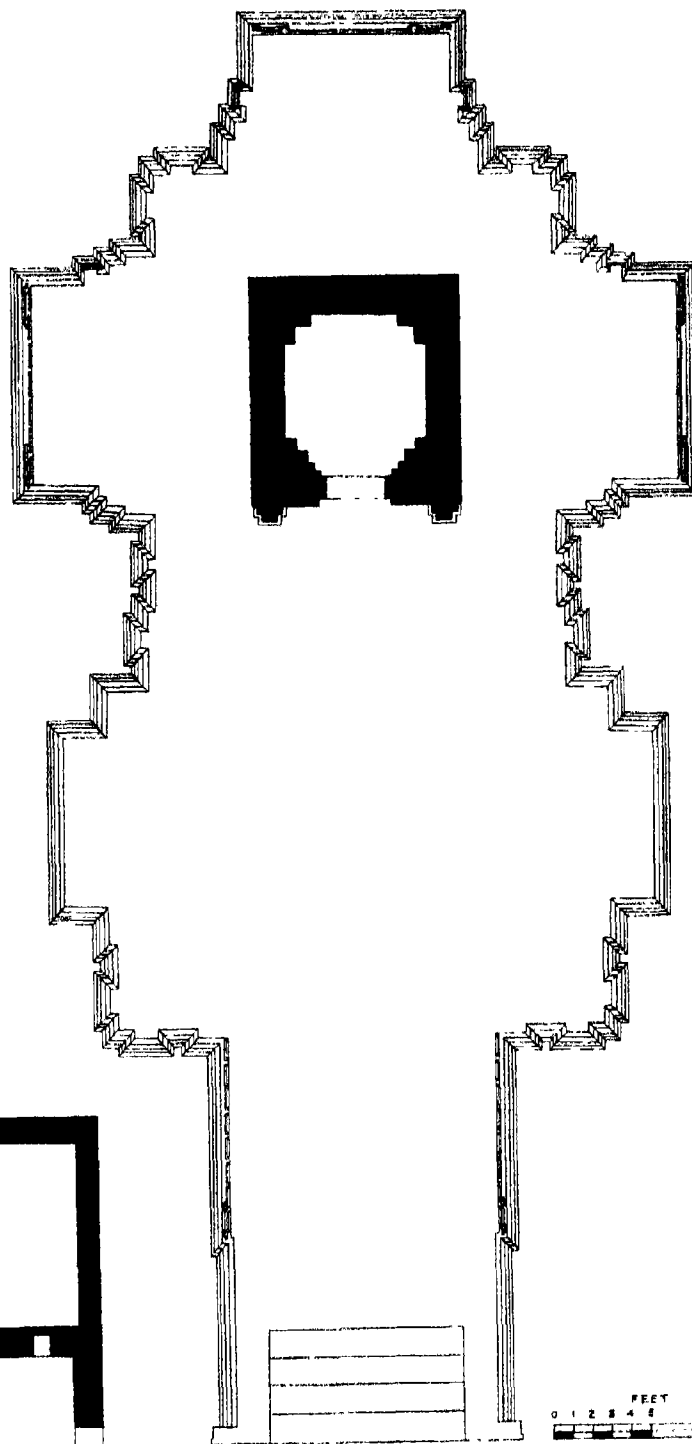



Fig. 34 Ground plan of Sonkamsârî no. 2, Ghumali (early Saindhava period)

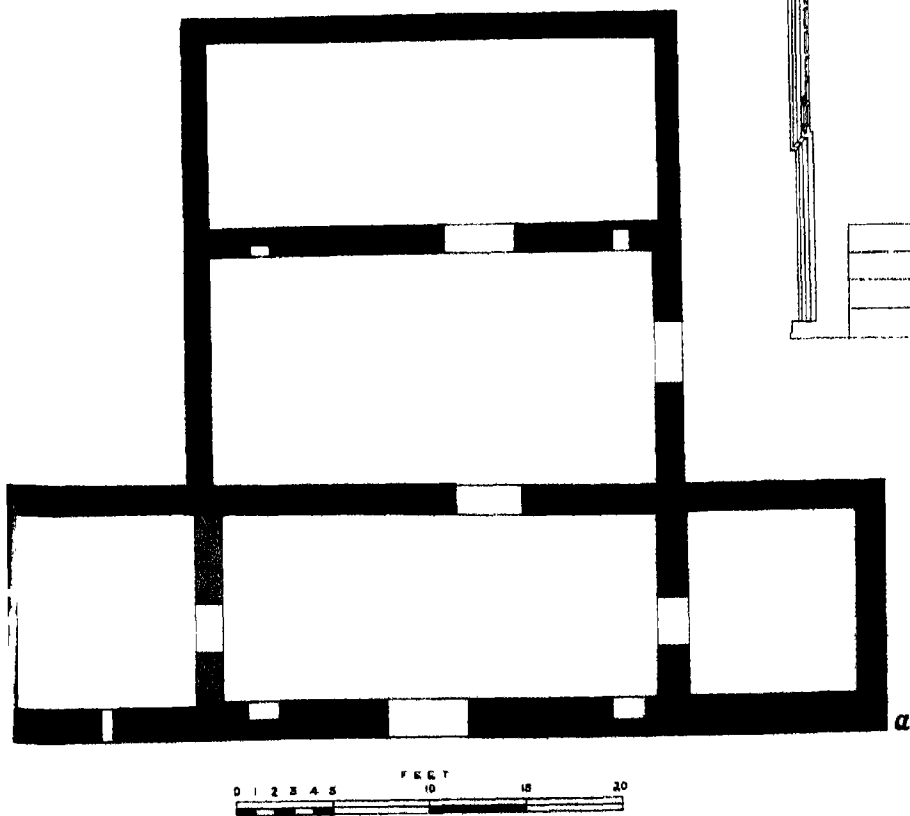



Fig. 35 Khimeśvara temple group, Maitraka period; rear hall of monastery. (a) Ground plan;

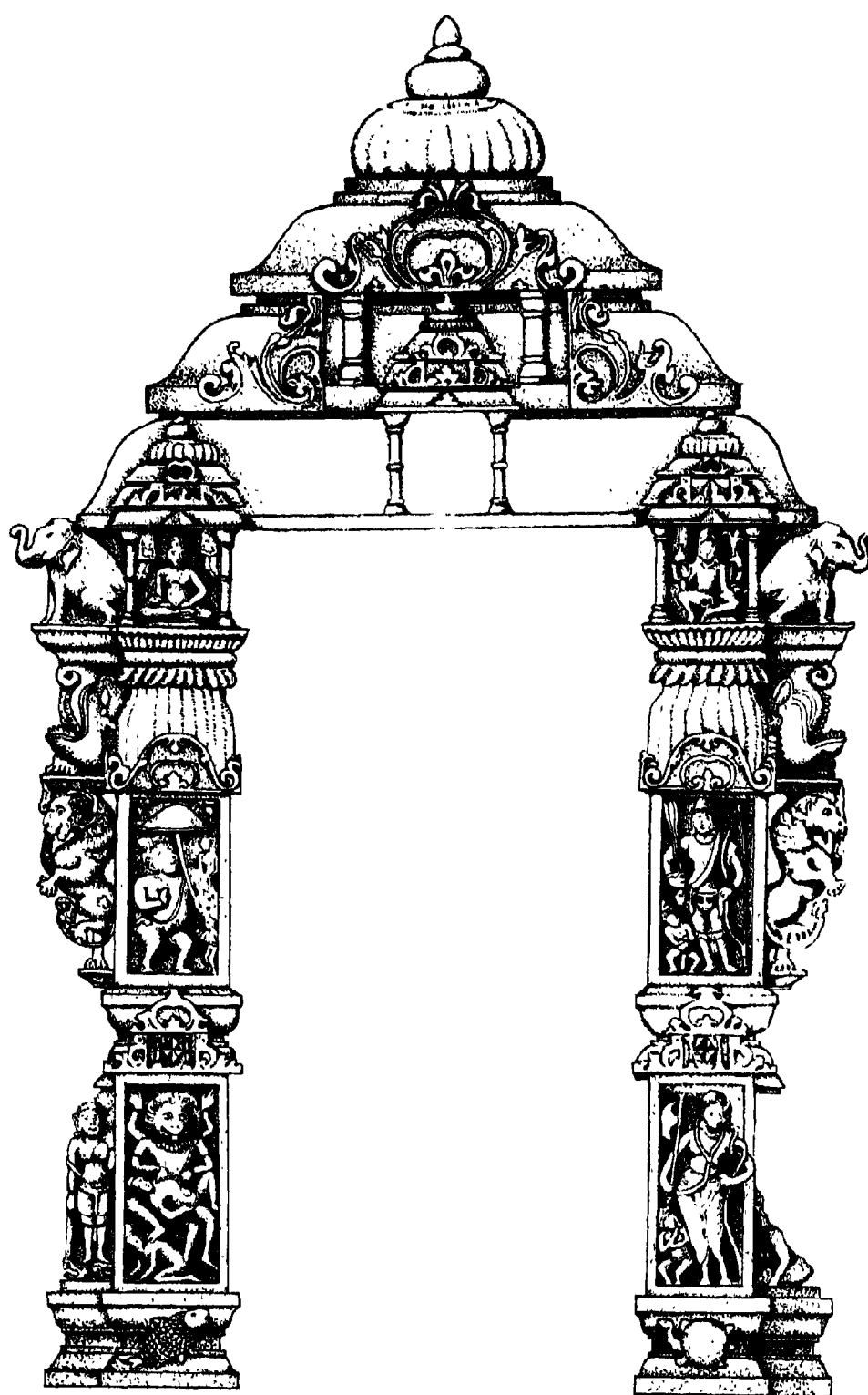



Fig 36 Old temple at Kadvâr, restored frame, *parikara*, of original principal image in cella.

Plate 1 *Candraśālā* on a frieze: lower storey, Uparkoṭ caves, Junāgaḍh

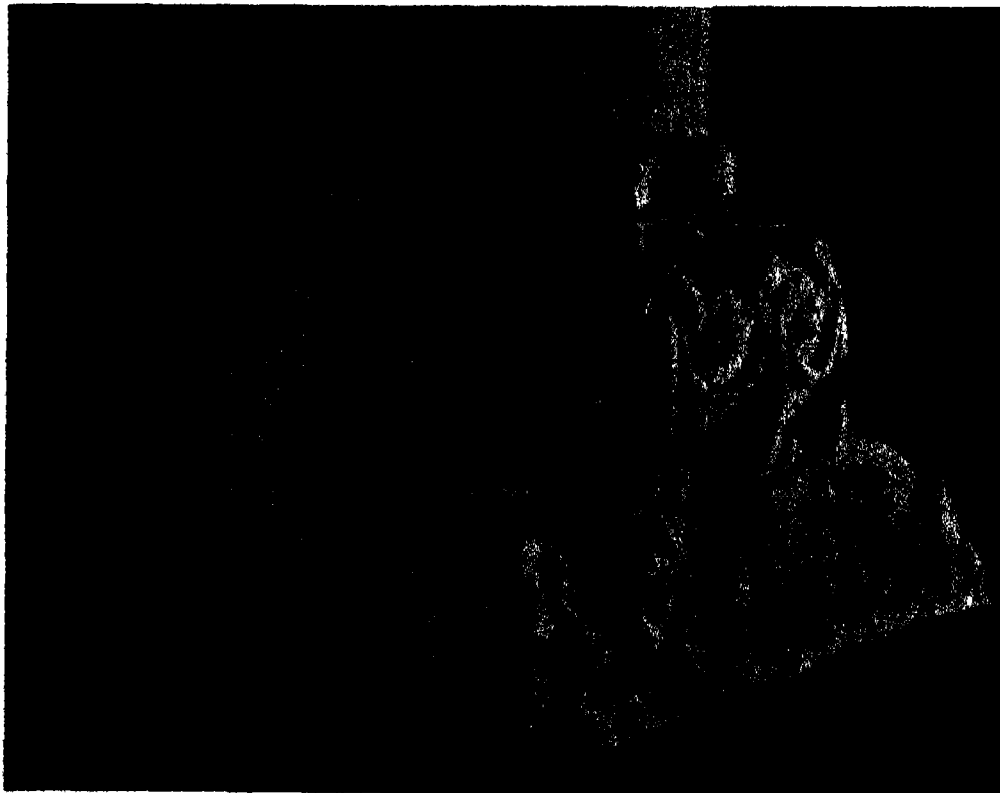



Plate 2 Base of pillar: lower storey, Uparkoṭ caves, Junāgaḍh

Plate 3 Capital and abacus of pillar: lower storey, Uparkot caves, Junāgaḍh

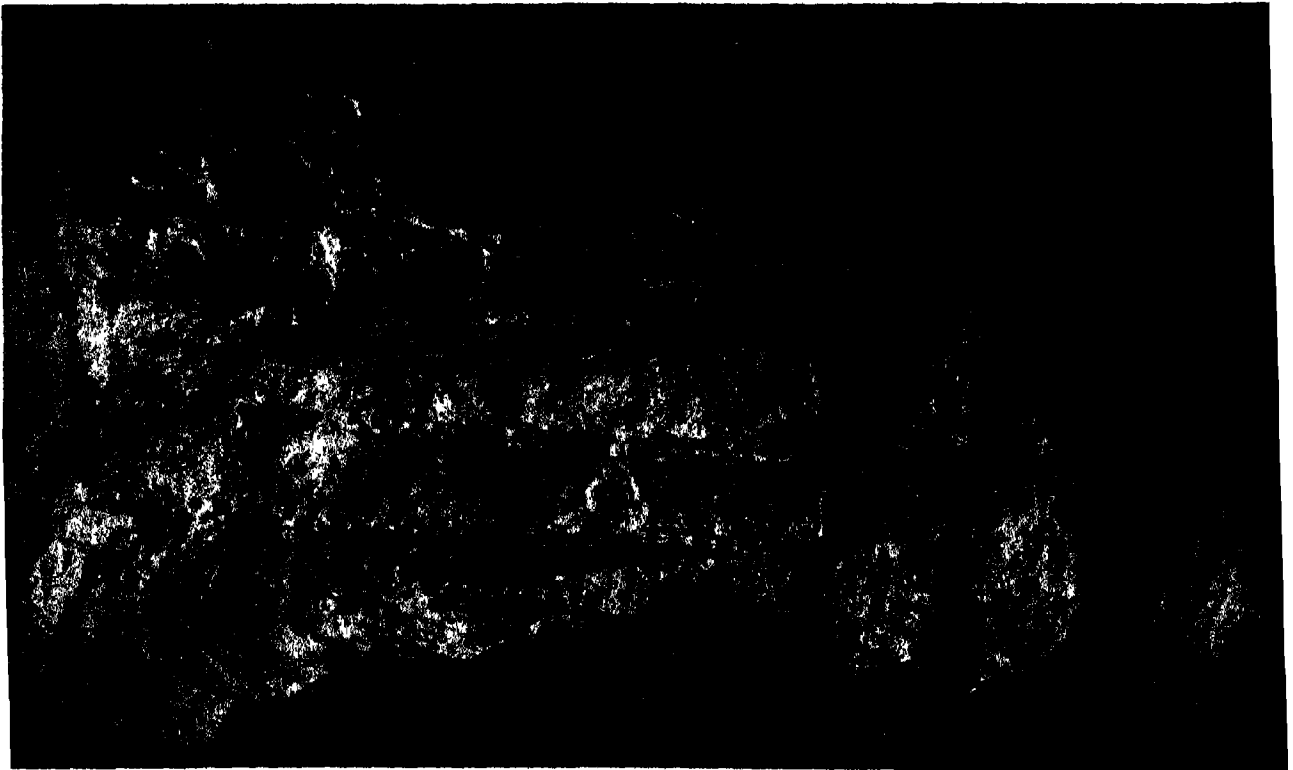



Plate 4 Frieze: upper storey, Uparkot caves, Junāgaḍh

Plate 5 *Caitya* cave, Khambhāliḍā

Plate 6 Frieze showing miniature edifices: *caitya* cave, Khambhāliḍā

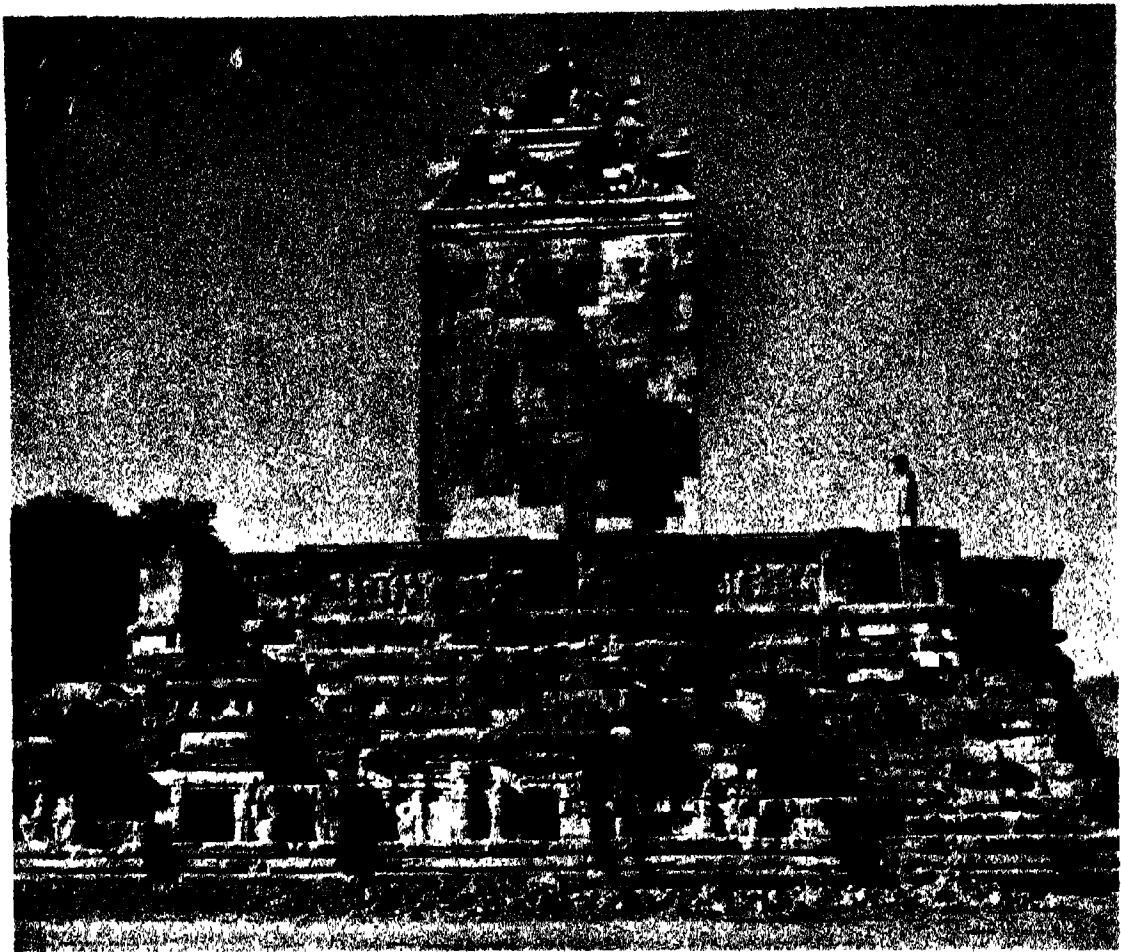



Plate 7 Old temple, Gop. View from south

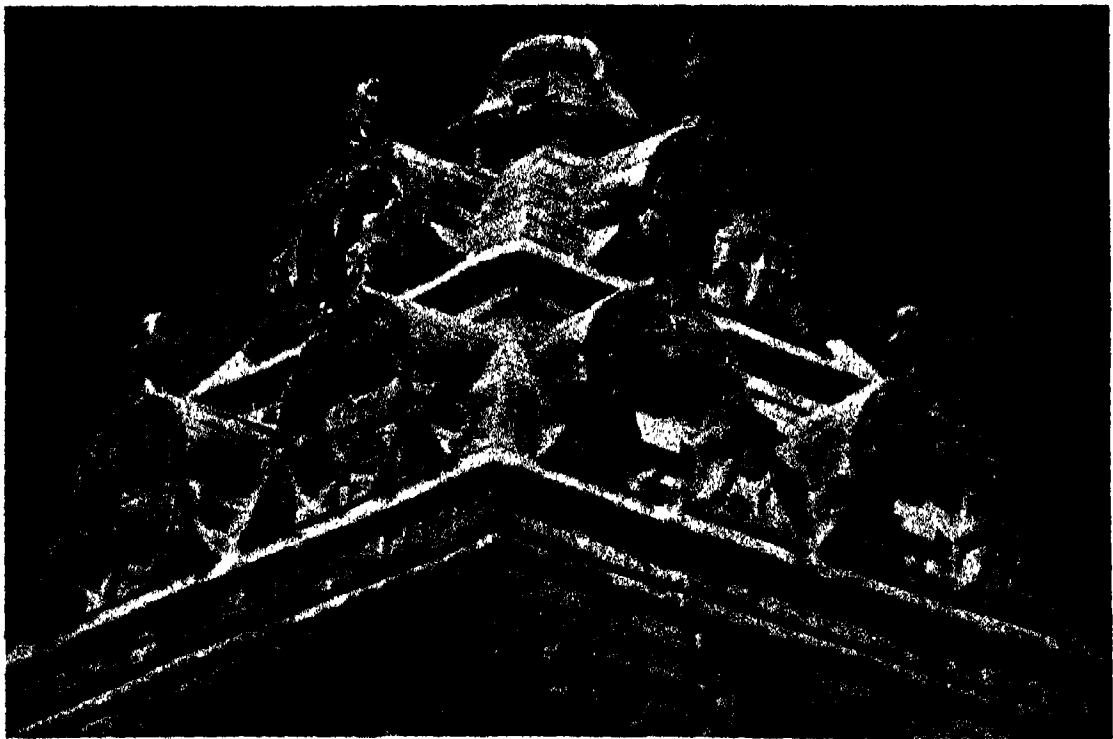



Plate 8 Spire, Old temple, Gop

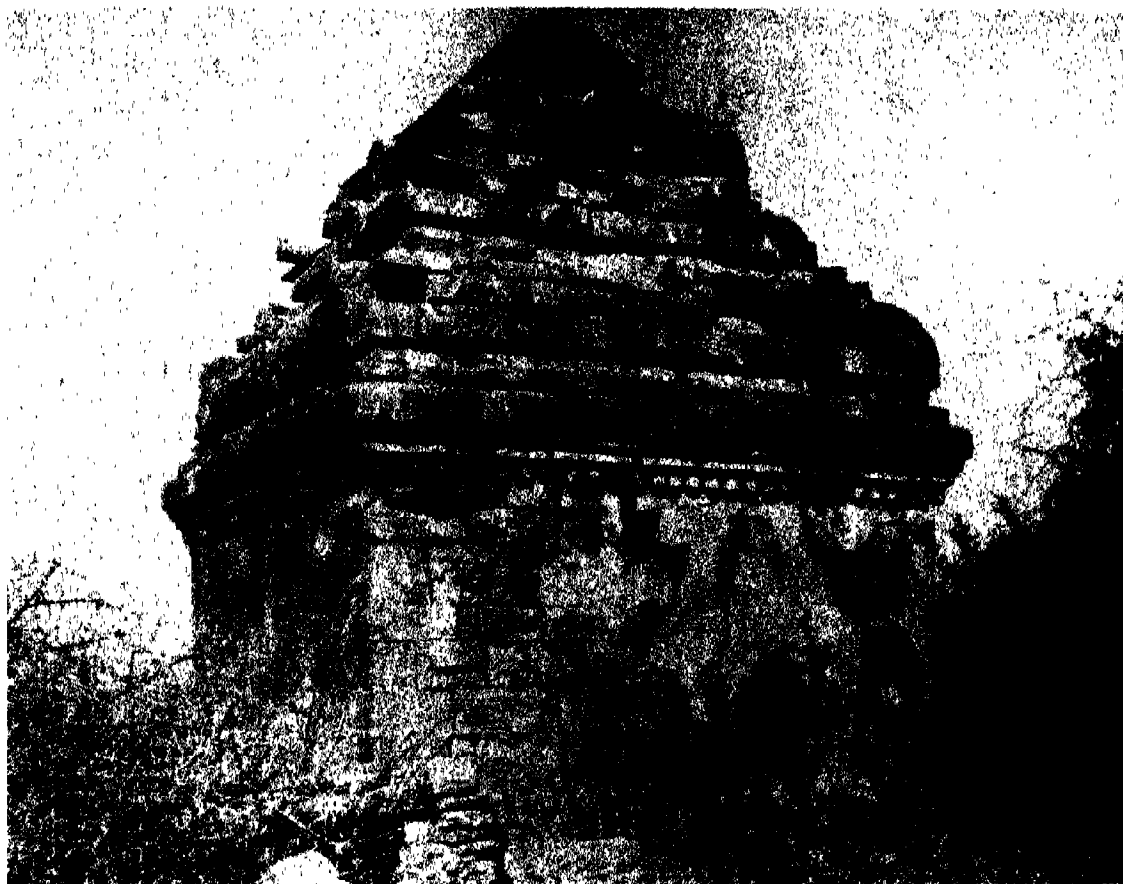



Plate 11 Rājal-Vejal mātā temple, old Dhrevaḍ

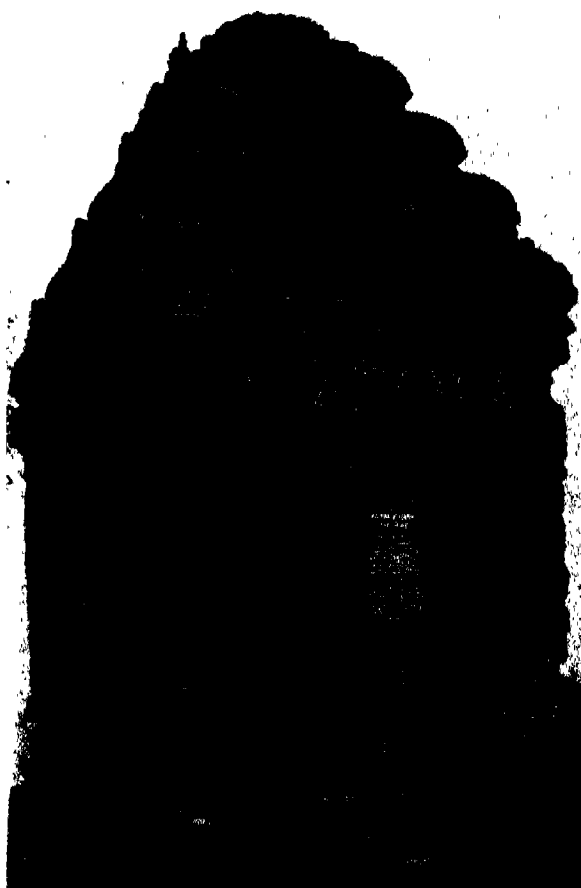
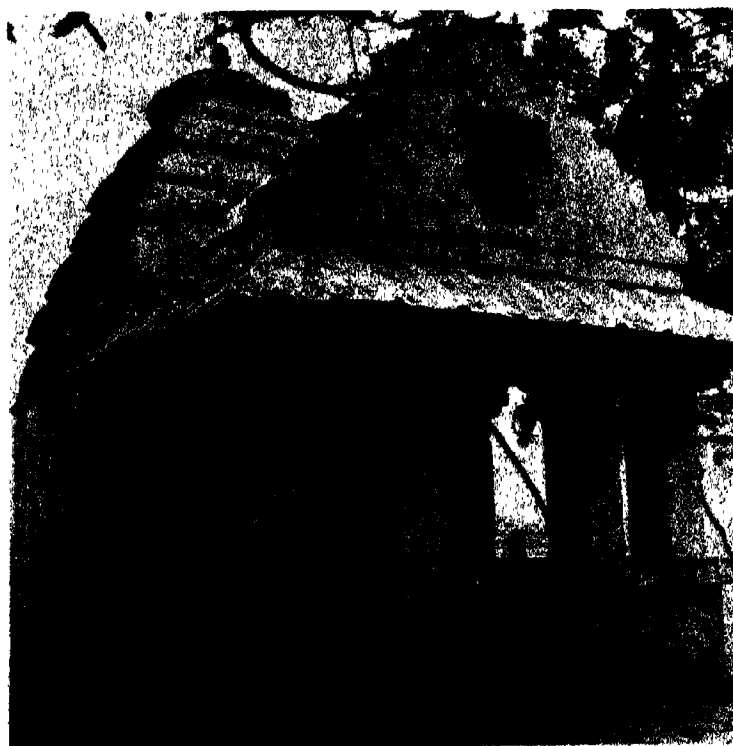



Plate 9 Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple, Kinderkheḍā

Plate 10 Old temple, Visāvāḍā

Plate 12 Śiva temple, Boricā

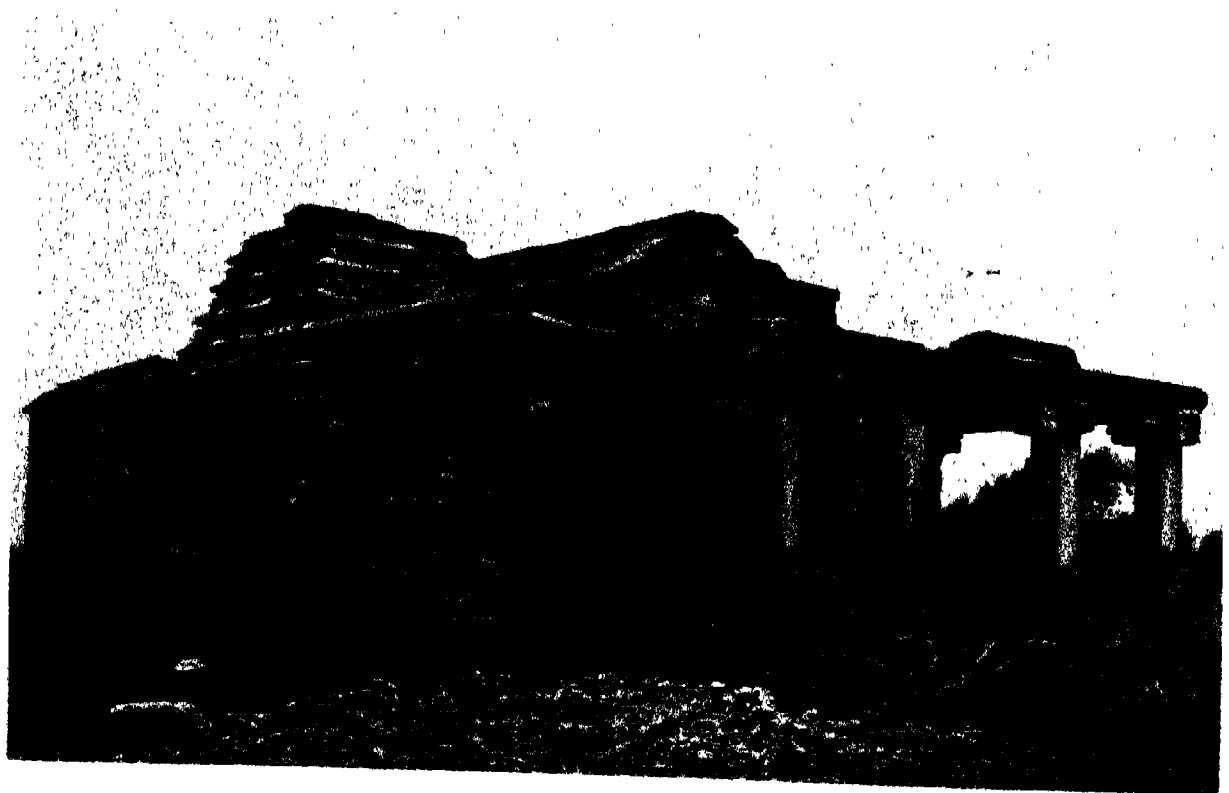



Plate 13 Sun temple, Kinderkheḍā

Plate 14 Sonkamsārī temple no. 8, Ghumalī

Plate 15 Khimeśvara temple no. 7

Plate 16 Oḍadar temple no. 5

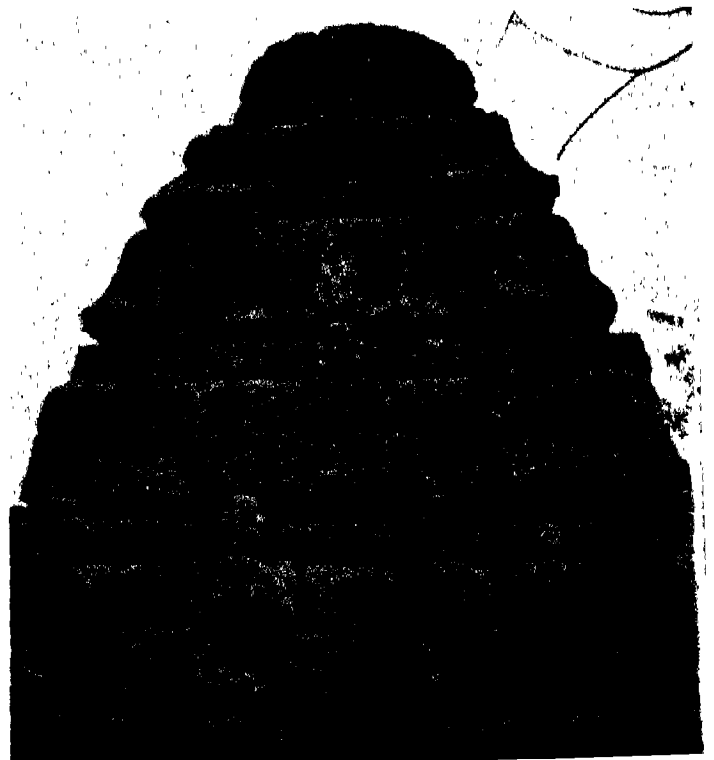
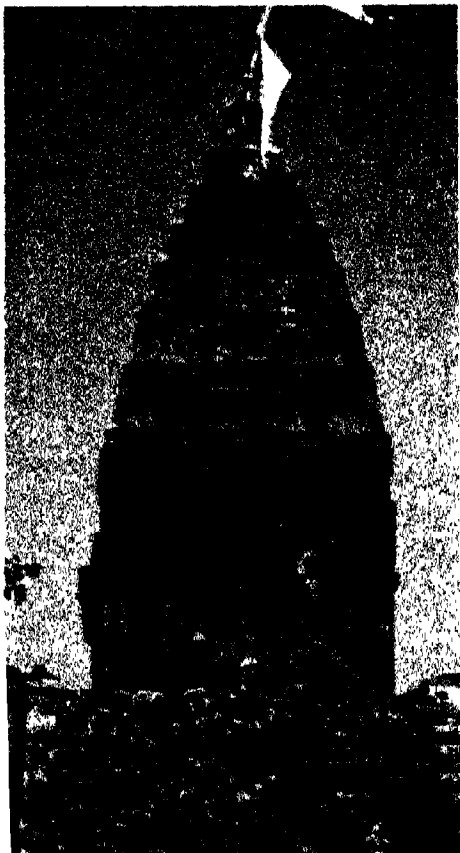



Plate 19 Sun temple, Jhamarā

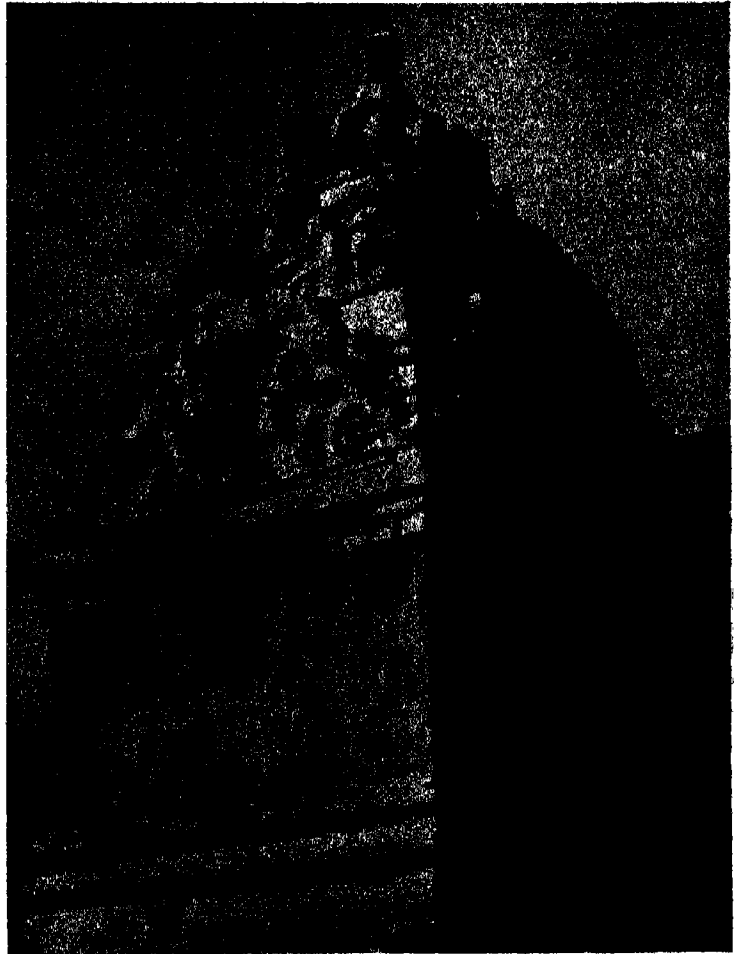



Plate 20 Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple near Bokhirā

Plate 21 Sun temple, Pasnāvaḍā

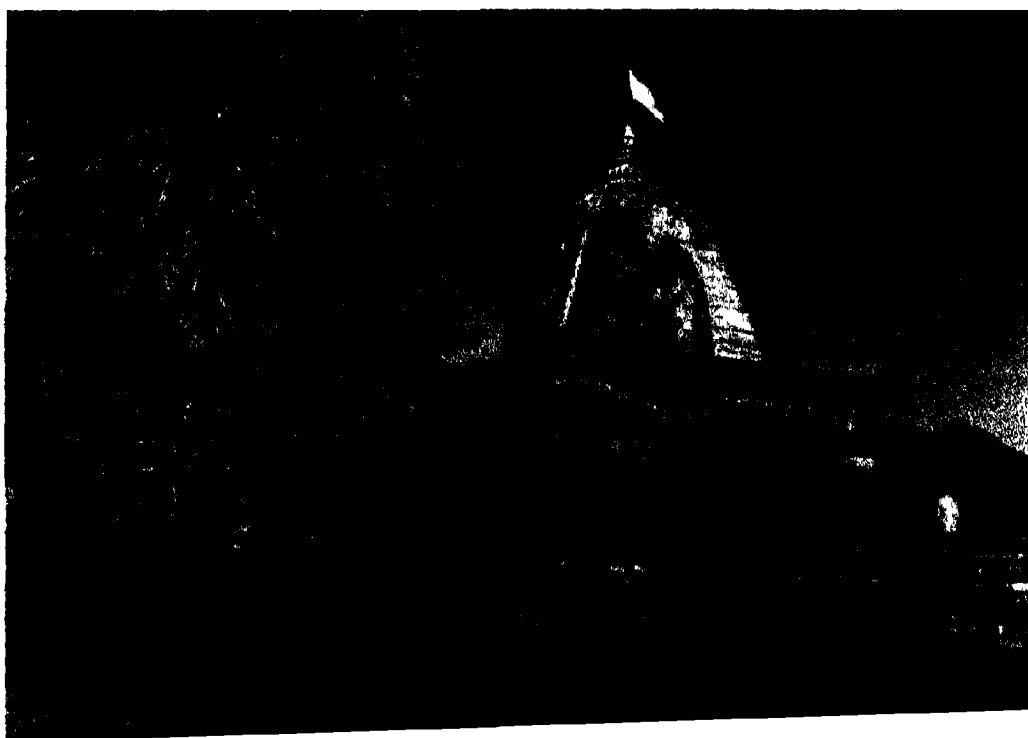
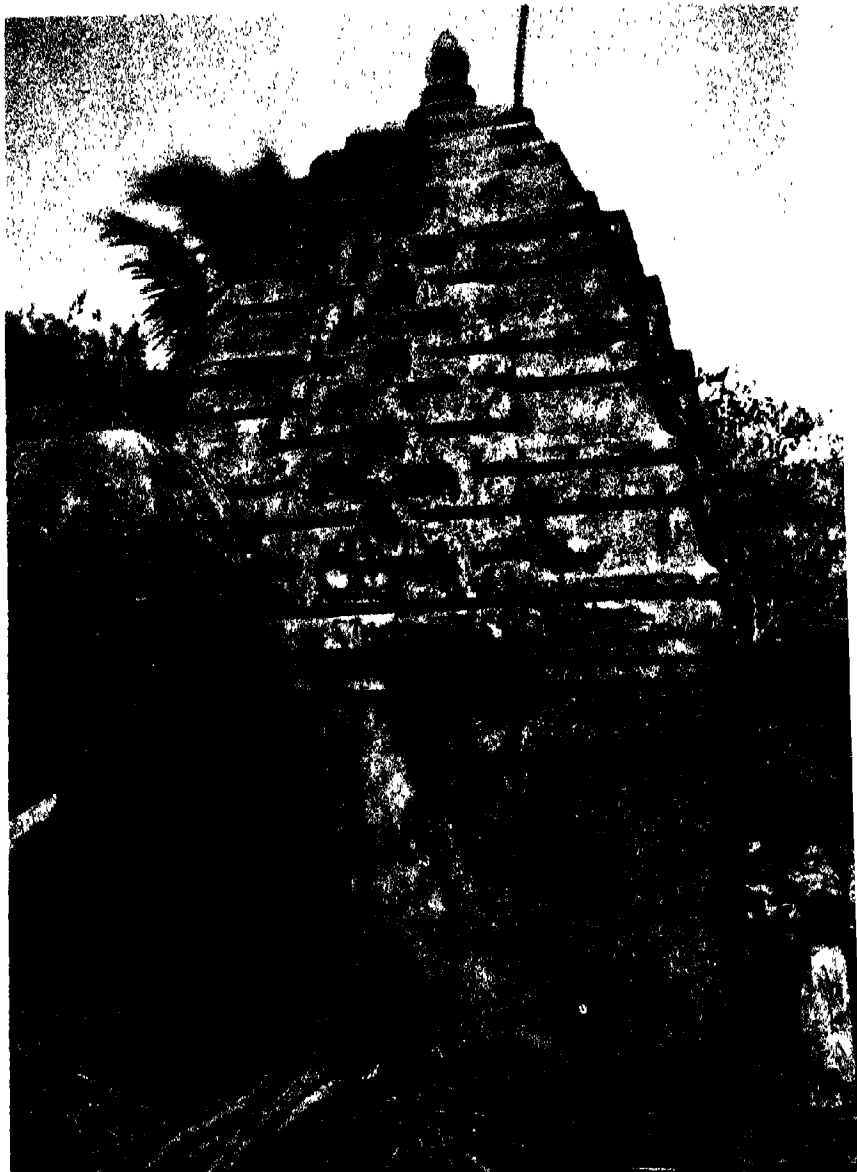



Plate 22 Suvarṇatīrtha temple near Dvārakā

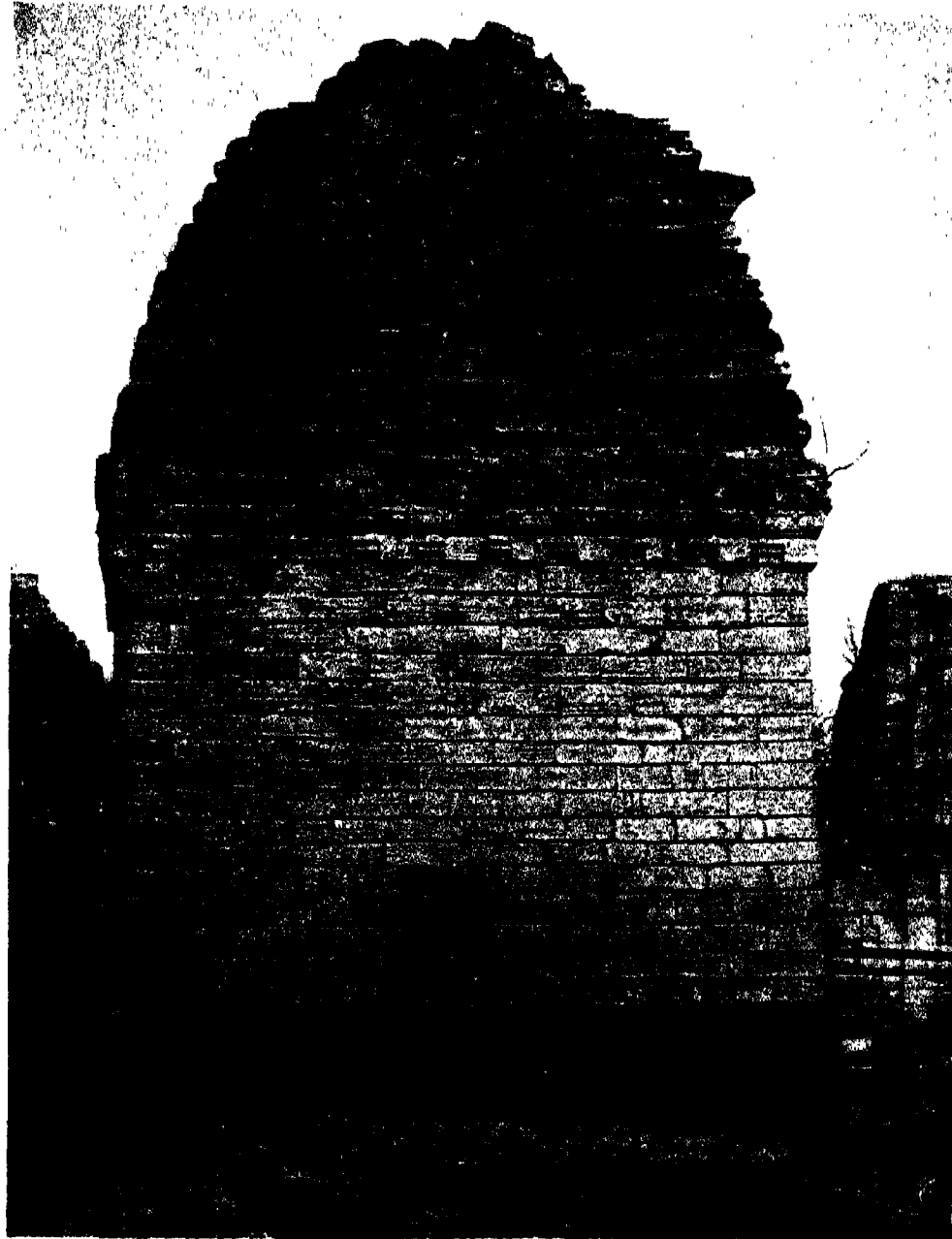



Plate 24 Sonkamsārī temple no. 4, Ghumalı

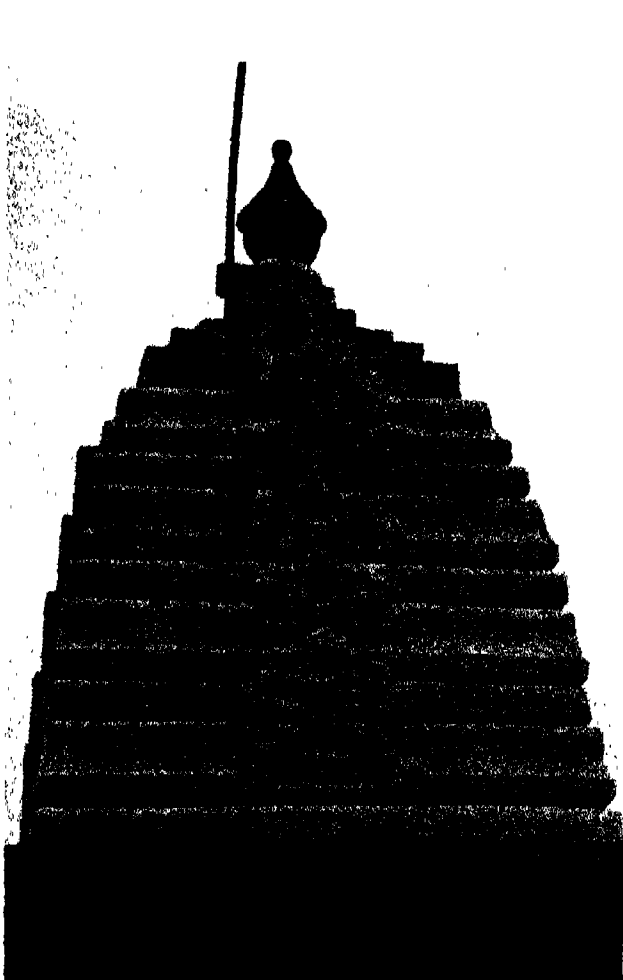



Plate 27 Façade, old temple, Kalsār

Plate 28 Bileśvara temple. View from the east

Plate 29 Part of the *vimāna*, northea or ner, Bileśvara temple

Plate 30 Part of the fronton, Bileśvara temple

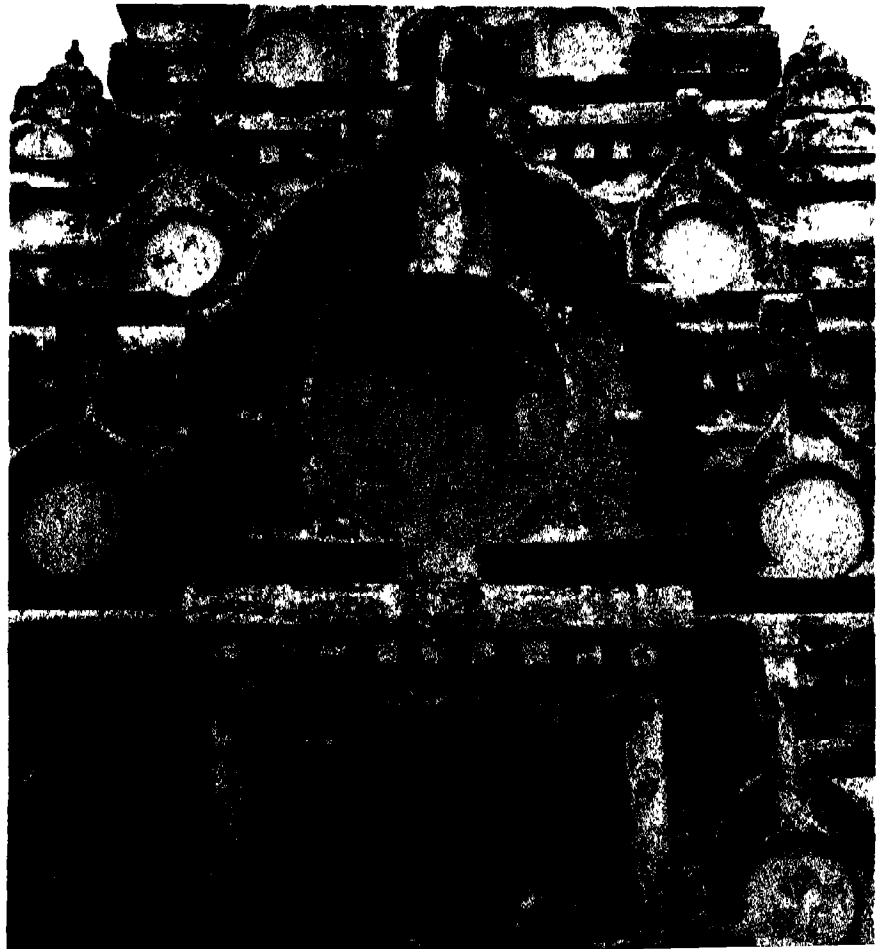
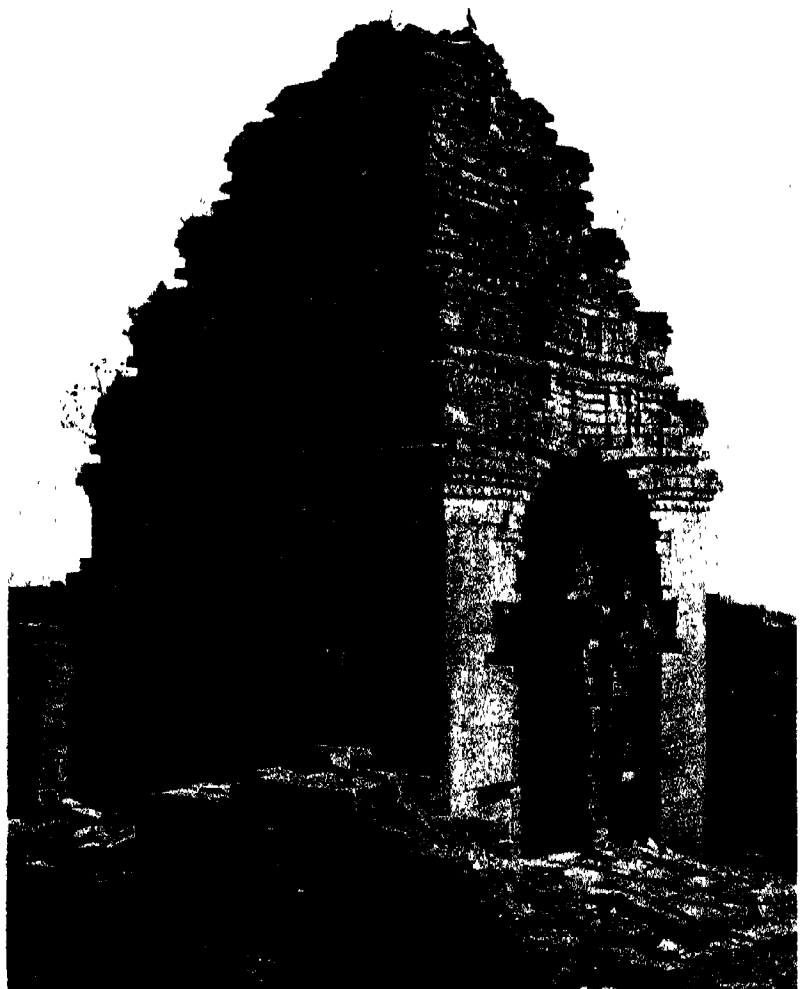
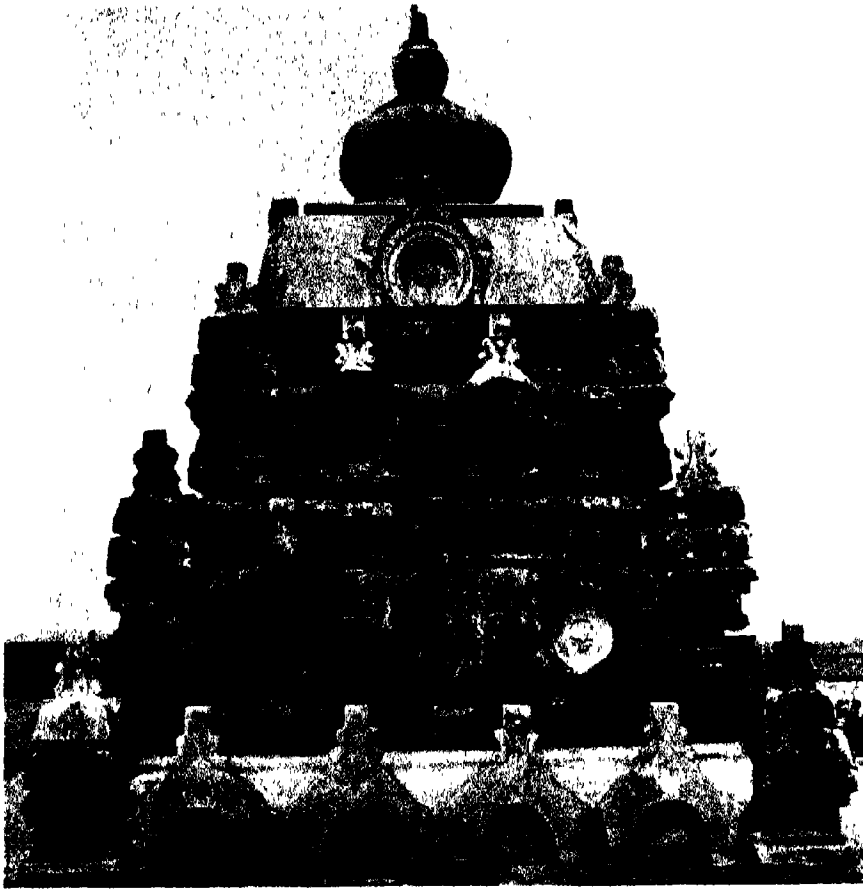



Plate 33 Old temple, Piṇḍārā

Plate 34 Kālikā mātā temple, old Dhrevaḍ

'late 35 Cāmuṇḍā mātā temple, Degām

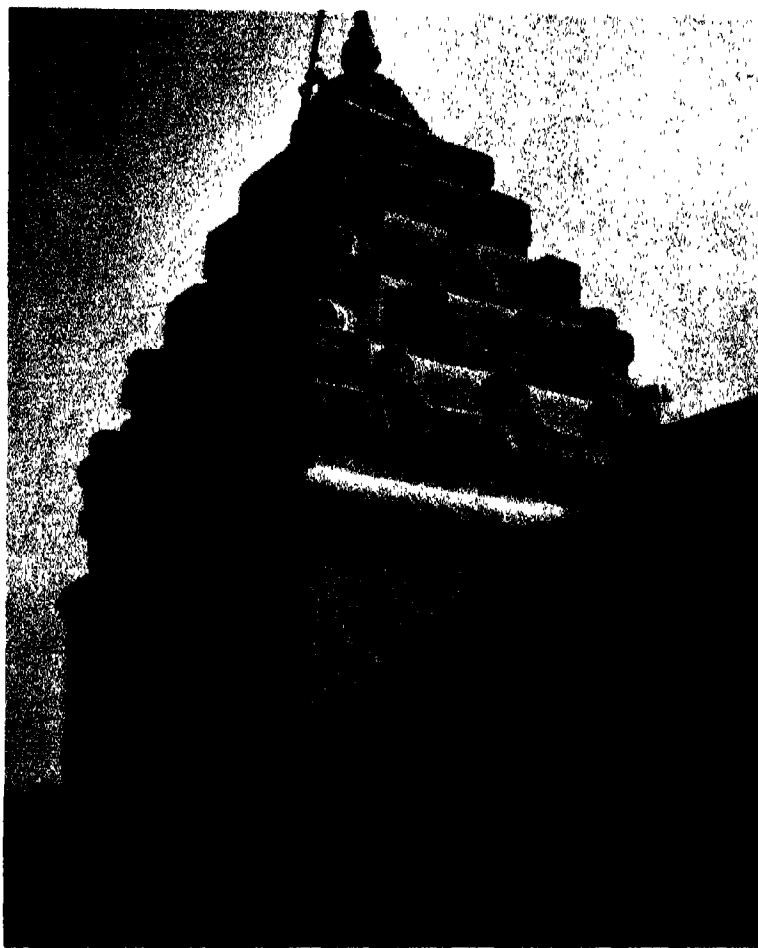



Plate 36 Bhāṇasarā temple no. 4

Plate 37 Bhānasarā temple no. 1

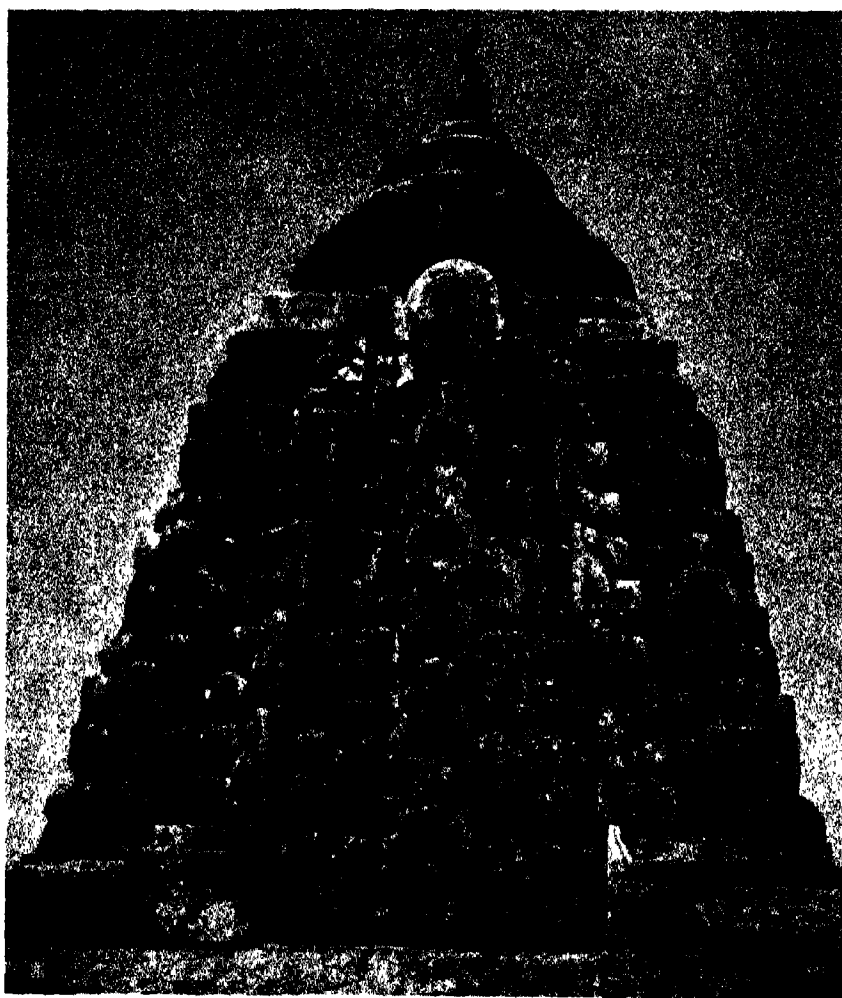



Plate 38 *Śikhara*, Sun temple, Sūtrāpāḍā

Plate 39 Kotesvara temple near Kālāvaḍ

Plate 40 Sun temple, Akhodar

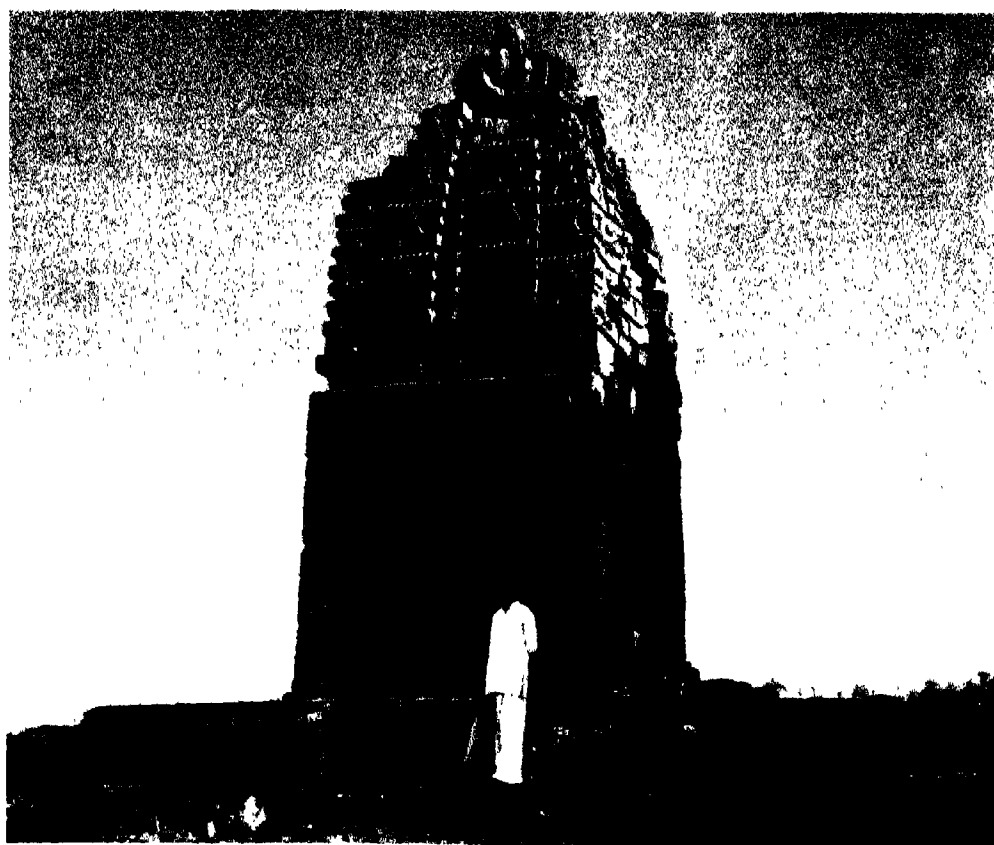



Plate 41 Sun temple, Pāchrar

Plate 42 Principal shrine, Magaḍerum, Dhrāsaṇavel

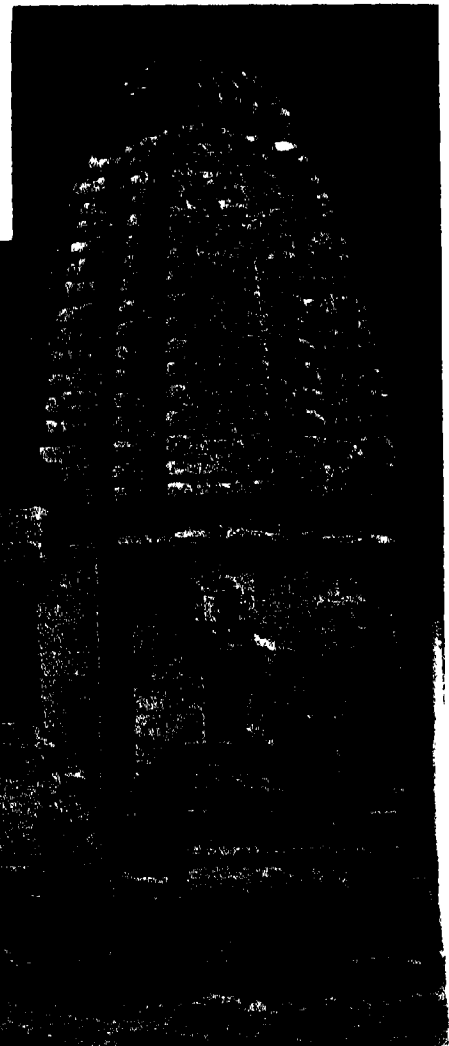
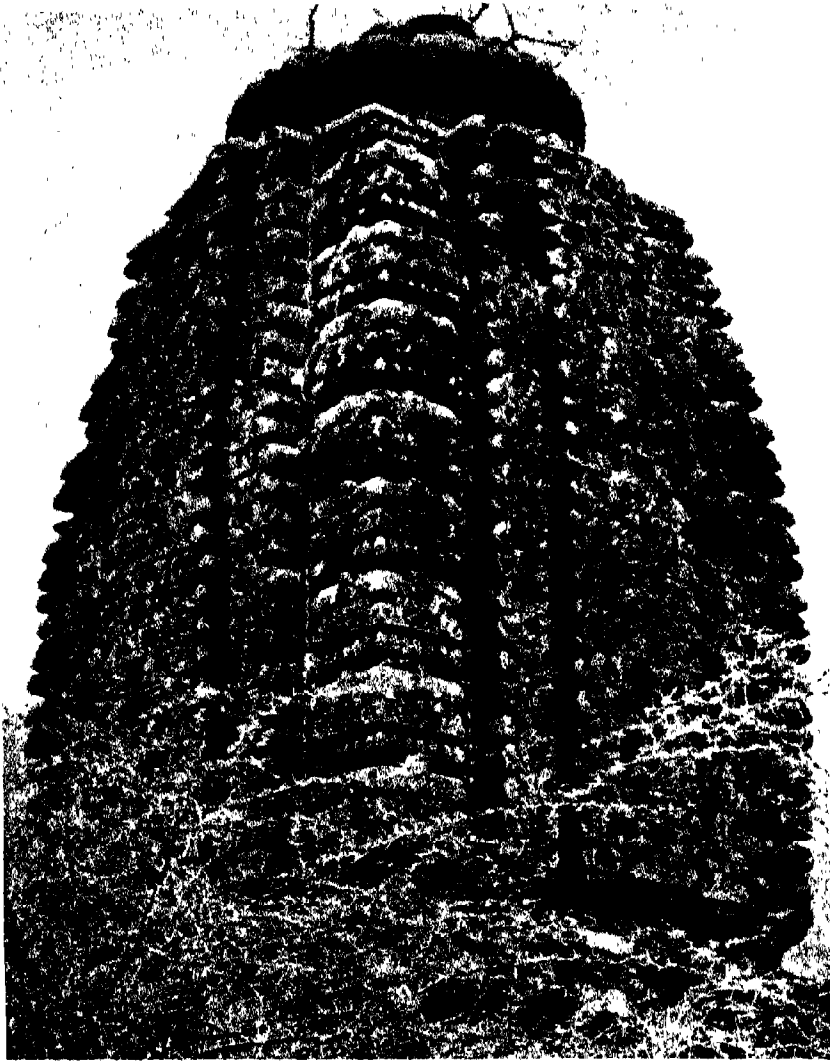
Plate 44 Ganeśa Deruṁ, Ghumali

te 43 Miyāni temple no. 2

Plate 45 Rāndal temple, Visāvāḍā

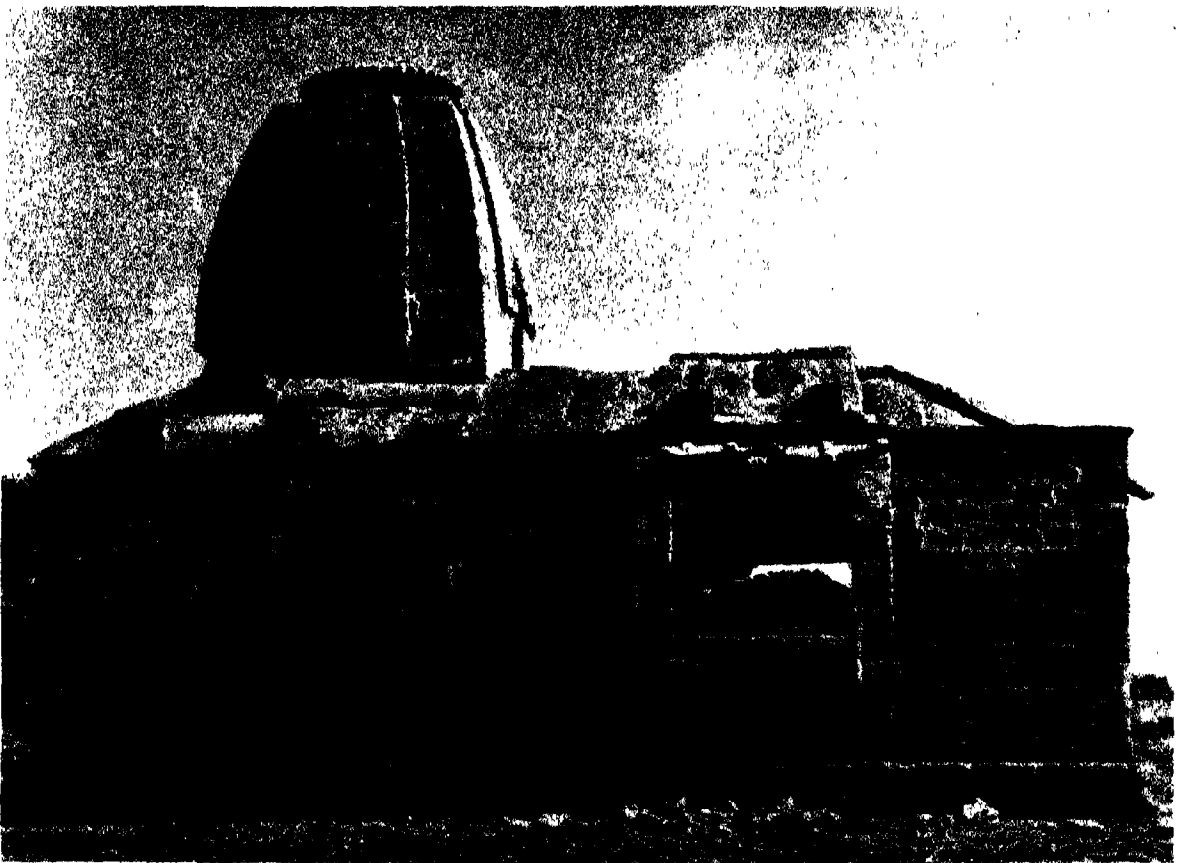



Plate 46 Kālikā mātā temple, Dhrāsanavel

Plate 47 Pañcāyatana temple, Pāchtar

Plate 48 Pañcāṇḍaka *śikhara*, Śiva temple, Khimarānā

Plate 50 Sonkaṁsāri temple no. 3

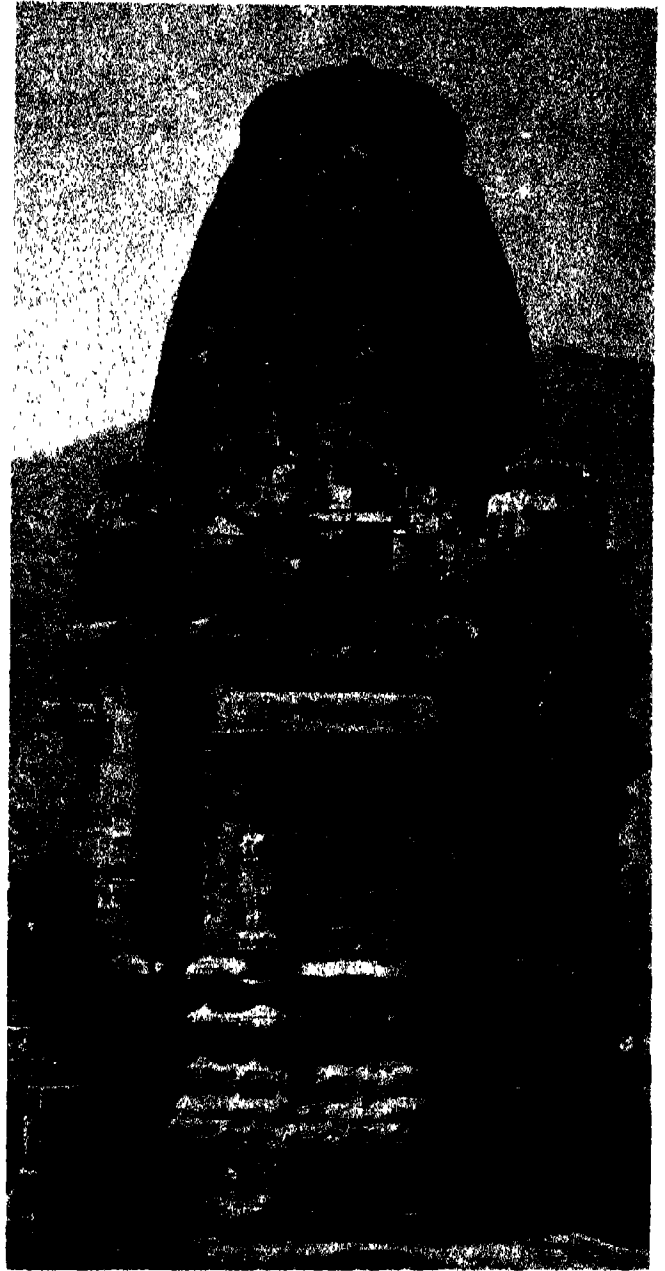



Plate 51 Miyani temple no 1

P e 52 Gāyatrī temple, Pasnāvaḍā

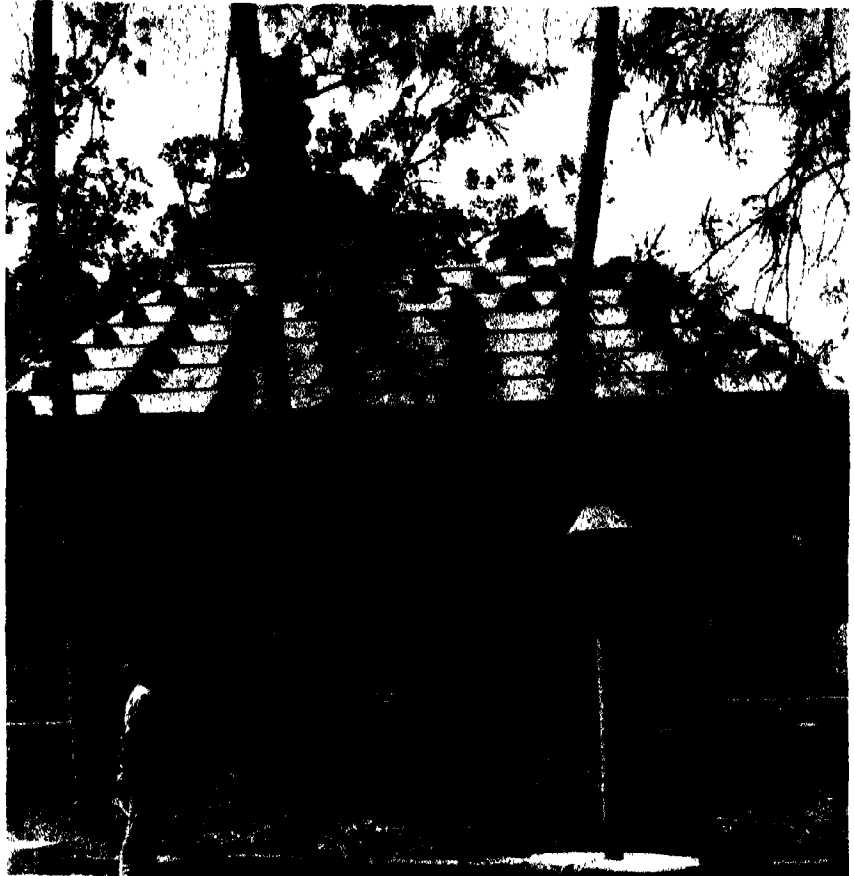



Plate 53 *Phāmsanā*, Gāyatrī temple, Pasnāvaḍā

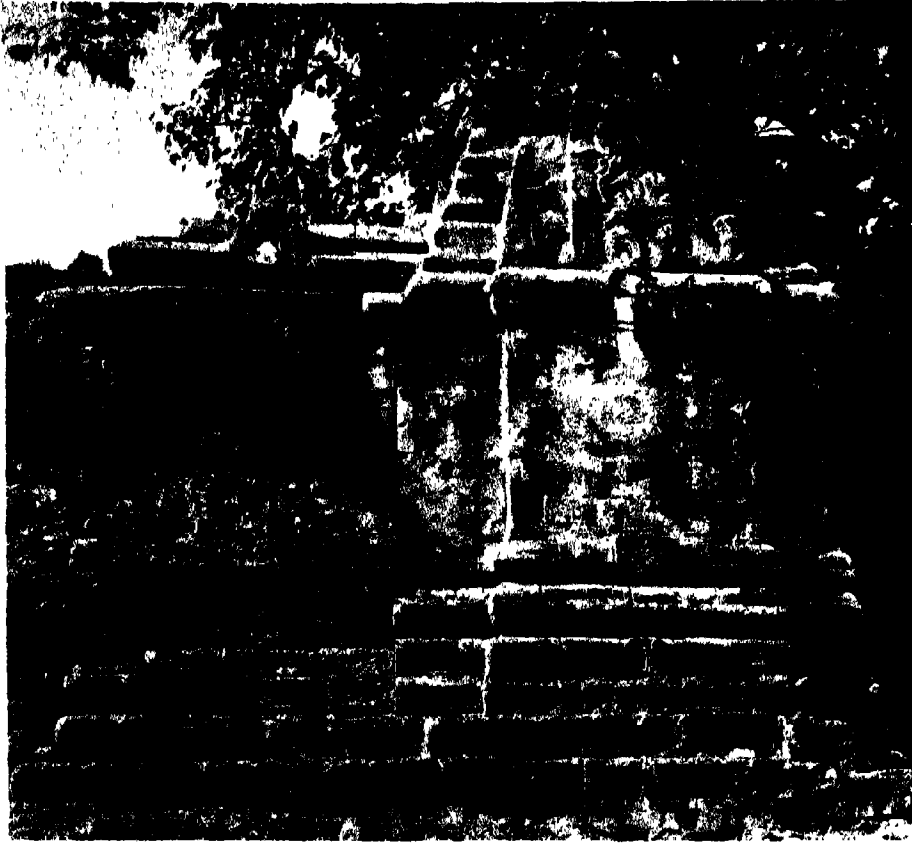
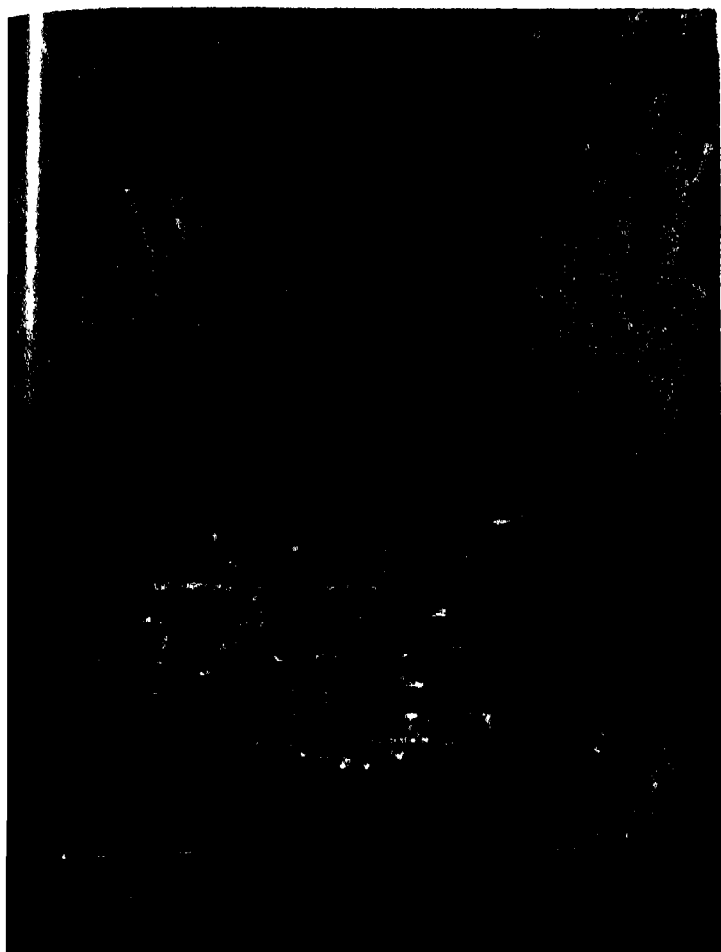



Plate 54 Suvarnatirtha temple no 2

Plate 55 Khimeśvara temple no. 6 (Saptamātṛkā temple)

Plate 59 Blind grille and pilaster, Varāha temple, Kadvār

late 56 View showing inner construction, Son-
amsāri temple no. 5

'late 57 Façade of the hall, Khimeśvara temple
10. 5

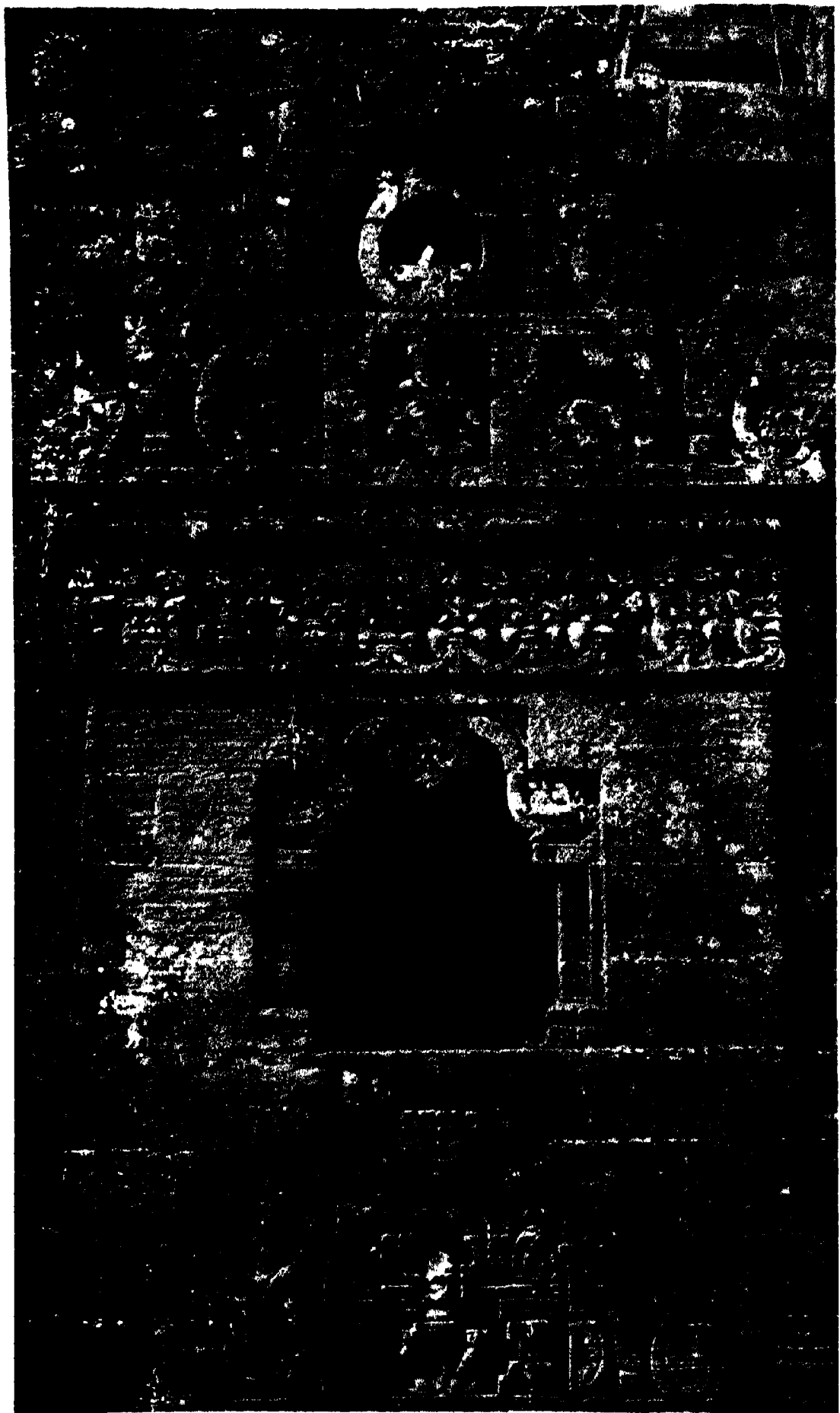



Plate 58 Carved niche, north wall, Sonkamsārī temple no. 1

Plate 60 Carving, *varaṇḍikā*, north wall, Sun temple, Akhodar

Plate 61 Carving, *varaṇḍikā*, west wall, Sun temple, Akhodar

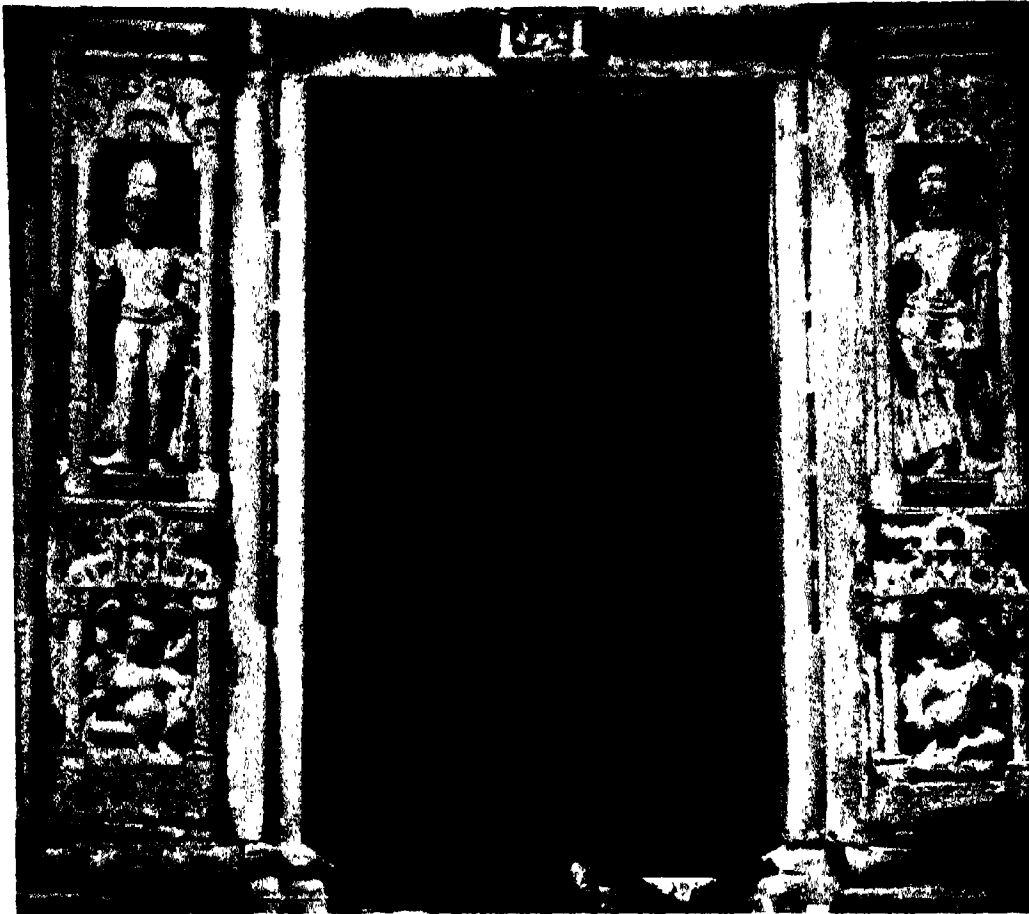



Plate 62 Doorway, c
sed hall, Bhīma de
Prācī

Plate 63 Doorway, cella,
Bhīma deavla, Prācī

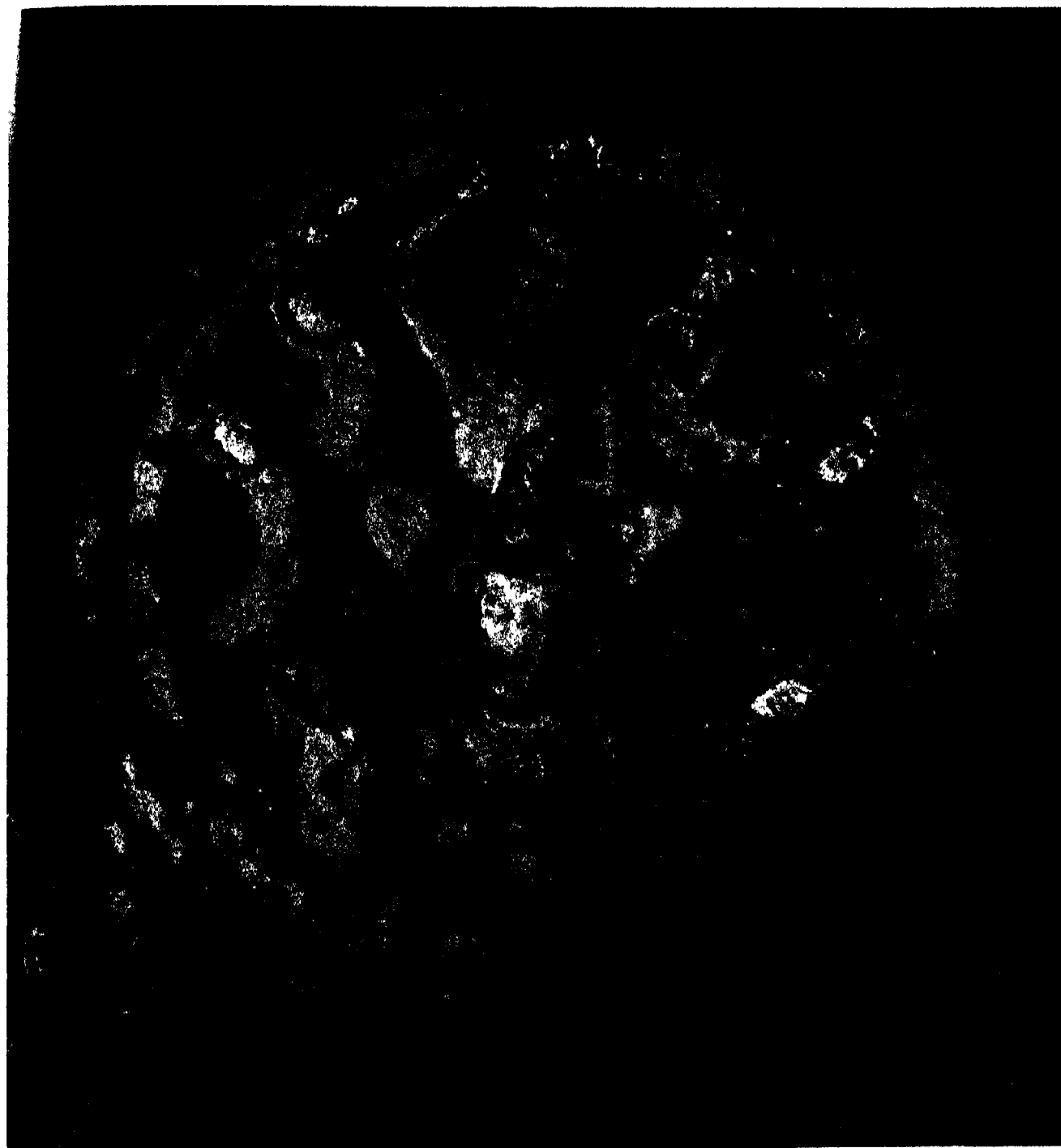



Plate 64 Kāliya-mardana ceiling, temple no 6, Oḍadar

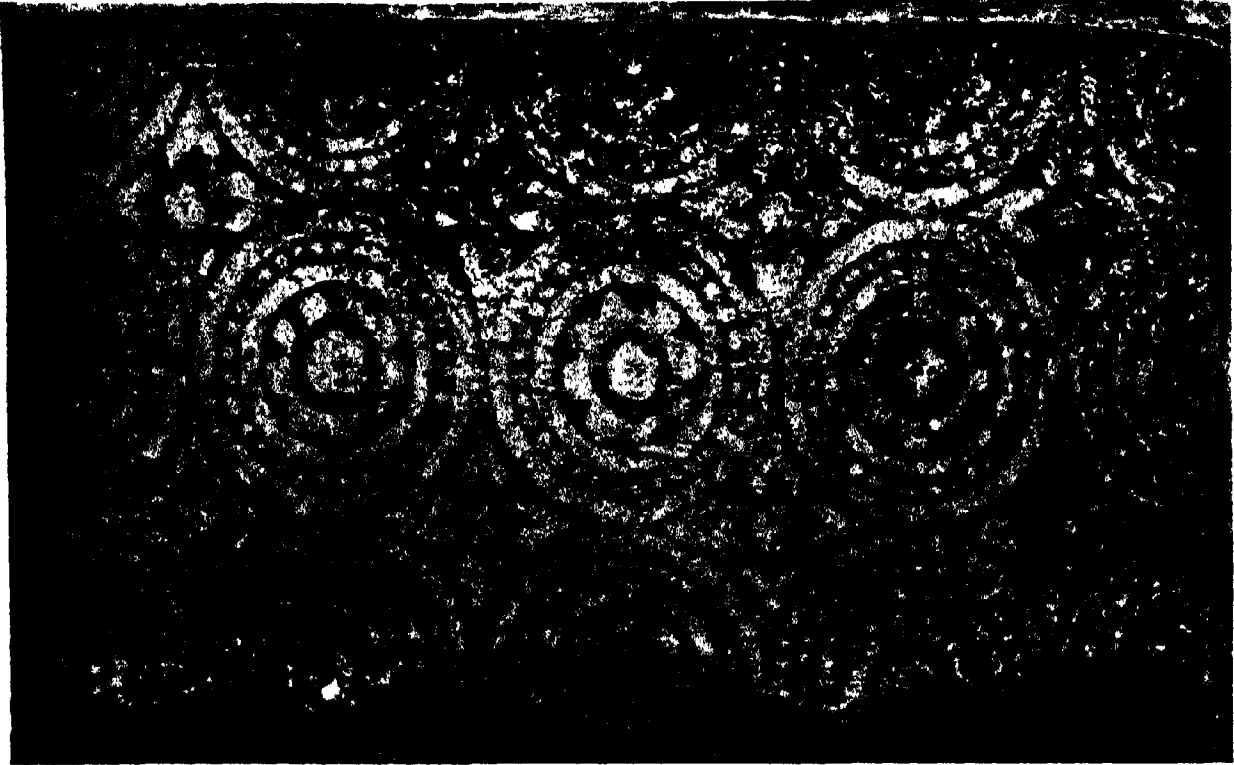



Plate 65 Blind grille, Sun temple, Kinderkhedā

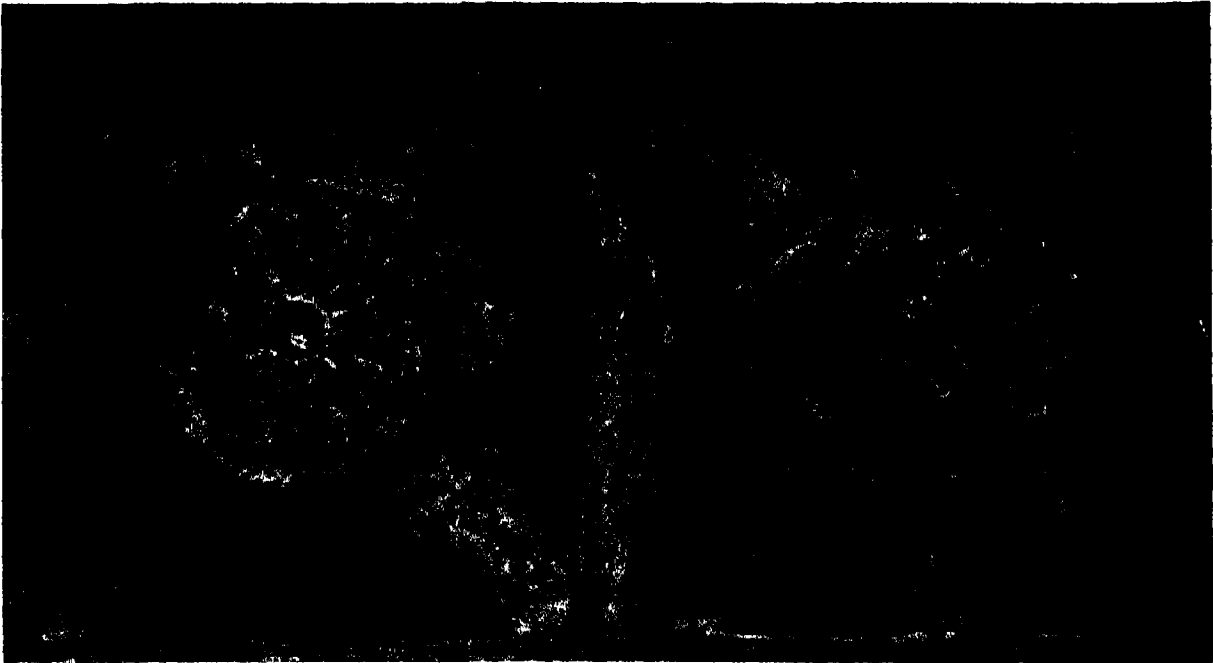



Plate 66 Grille, Khimeśvara temple no. 1

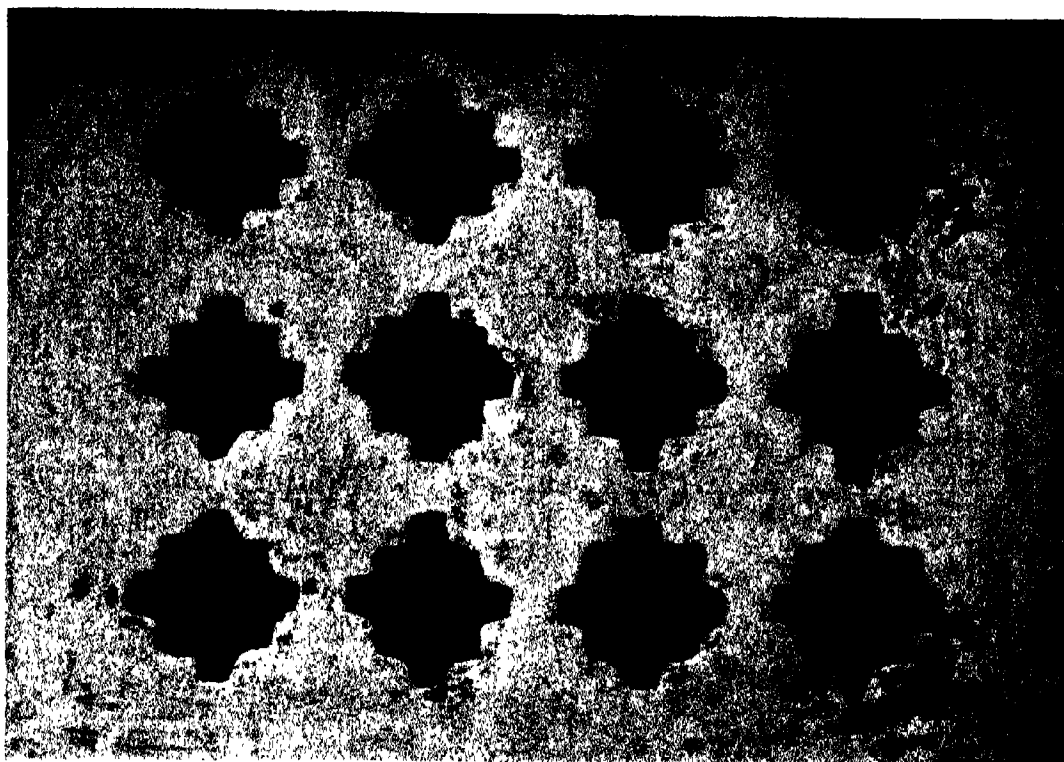



Plate 67 Grille, Khimeśvara temple no. 1

Plate 71 Grille, Pārśvamaṇḍapa, Kadvāra temple

Plate 68 Grille, Gāyatrī temple, Pasnāvaḍā

Plate 69 Shaft of the pillar, Oḍadar temple no. 1

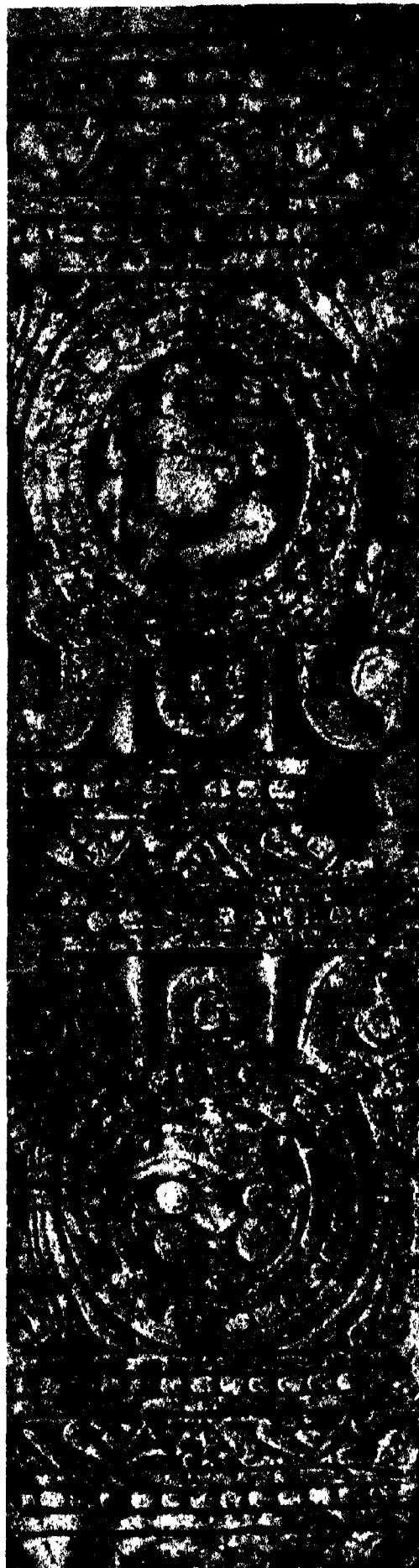



Plate 70 Shaft of the pillar, Oḍadar temple no. 1